



# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA

BY

N. A. GORE, M.A.

Lecturer in Sanskrit and Ardhamagadhī,  
S P. College, Poona



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## PREFACE

A systematically compiled Bibliography of any individual work, author or subject is an important aid to scholars in their research work. When they have such Bibliographies by their side they can find out at a glance the variety and the amount of research work done in a particular subject or on an author or a work. But unfortunately, the work of preparing subject-wise or author-wise Bibliographies has received scant attention from Indian scholars. While, for example, a Bibliography of Shakespeare and its supplement are available in English,<sup>1</sup> no such Bibliography exists of the "Shakespeare of India"

It is with a view to supply this long-felt need in the case of the Vālmiki Rāmāyana that the present book is prepared. When I was given to read the Sundara-kānda with the B. A. Sanskrit students this year, I prepared a list of Books and Papers connected with Rāmāyana and drew up the 19 points for the study of the Rāmāyana for the guidance of my students and myself. The words of encouragement spoken by my *Guru* Prof H D Velankar, M A., of Wilson College, Bombay, when I showed the same to him, prompted me to undertake the present work. Then I collected information about the editions and translations of the Rāmāyana and books and papers on it, and for this purpose consulted material

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- (1) (a) A Shakespeare Bibliography by Walther Ebisch and Levin L Schucking Pp 312 21 sh net. Oxford U. Press, 1931.  
(b) Supplement for the years 1930--1935, Pp. 104, 5 sh. net. Oxford University Press.

available at the Bombay University Library, the Kesari-Marattha Granthashala, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Oriental Book Agency of Dr Sardesai and the S. P. College Library. The select contents of Oriental journals given in the Indian Historical Quarterly, the Journal of Indian History and the Indian Culture have been of immense value to me in this connection. Though I have not spared myself to make the Bibliography as complete and comprehensive as possible, it is quite likely that yet a great amount of relevant information is left out. Particularly, I have not been able to exhaust references from Indian journals other than those in Marathi and Foreign journals in Continental languages. But this is largely due to my anxiety to bring out the book before the end of February with a view to make it available to the B. A. Sanskrit students in good time before their examination. The few extracts at the end of the book are chiefly given for their use, though, it is hoped, that they would be interesting to a general reader also.

The entries in the book are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the surnames of the editors or authors ; in some cases, however, where the editors are not mentioned the names of the Publishers had to be given. The book is divided into five sections : (1) Text editions ; (2) Translations ; (3) Adaptations etc.; (4) General Criticism (a) Books, and (b) Papers; and (5) Extracts. And at the end, the Subject-Index is added for ready reference. In the case of some books and papers I have given a list of their contents or added a few lines to give an idea of the main argument of the author , and this, it is hoped, will enhance the utility of the book.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the Bombay University, The Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, The Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala and The Keshari-Maratha Granthashala for allowing me to consult books and journals in their custody. My thanks are also due to Mr. R. N. Chapekar, Lecturer in German, Sir Parashurambhau College, Dr. R. N. Sardesai and Dr. V. M. Bendre for translating for me the contents and titles of books and papers in German. I offer my sincere thanks to Prof R. D. Vadekar for the translation of two sections from Jacobi's Das Rāmāyana on the Epic Language and the Poetic Art of Vālmīki, and granting me permission to include it in this book. I thank Mr S. G. Date for allowing me to consult his book "*Marāthī Pustakāncē Sūcī*" even before its publication and to include five entries from his book into this Bibliography. Dr. V. Raghavan sent me about 10 entries which I had not been able to collect, and I thank him for the active interest he is taking in my work. I thank my friend Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, for going through the press copy and making some valuable suggestions. My student Mr. S. V. Prabhu deserves thanks for preparing the press-copy of the book.

I conclude this Preface with a request to the readers and reviewers to help me with constructive criticism so that I should be able to bring out an exhaustive Bibliography of the Rāmāyana at no distant date.

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**To  
my children  
Sashikala and Ravindra**





# A Bibliography of the Rāmāyana

## I Text Editions

1. Anantacharya, Pandit, S.G —S'rī Vālmiki-Rāmāyana. Text in Grantha characters, with Tamil translation and notes in Sanskrit. Canjeeveram, 1904-1916

[Incomplete, breaking off at Yuddha-Kānda ch 46.]

2. Arya-Muni— Rāmāyana — Bāla-Kānda — Yuddha-Kānda, with Hindi translation and commentary according to the Ārya-Samāja doctrine Lahore, 1912.

- 3 Bhagvad-Datta, Pandit, and Pandit Rama Labhaya, and Pandit Vishva-Bandhu Shastri—Rāmāyana of Vālmiki, in its North-Western recension, critically edited for the first time from Original Mss Published by the D A V. College Research Department, Lahore, 1923 ff.

[The Research Department of the D A V College, Lahore, has undertaken to bring out, for the first time, a Critical Edition of the North-Western recension of the Rāmāyana since 1921. So far Kāṇḍas I-V have been published. II Ayodhyā-Kānda, ed. Pandit Rama Labhaya and Pandit Bhagavad Datta, 1923-1928, I Bāla-Kānda, ed. Pandit Bhagvad-Datta, 1931, III Āraṇya-Kānda, ed.

Pandit Bhagvad-Datta and Vishva-Bandhu Shastri, 1935,  
IV Kiṣkindhā-Kāṇḍa, ed Vishva Bandhu Shastri, 1936  
V Sundara-Kāṇḍa, ed Vishva-Bandhu Shastri, 1940 ]

4. Bhandare M. S — The Bāla-kāṇḍa of the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, with Introduction, exhaustive Notes, Translation and Summary Bombay, 1920

[The Introduction, pp I-XVIII, deals with (a) the author and his time, (b) the present Rāmāyaṇa and the original poem of Vālmīki, (c) the date of the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form, (d) the age of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa and (e) a literary estimate ]

5. Bhattacharya R L — The Rāmāyaṇa. Published through the *Pandit* Vols 28-38. Benares 1906-1915.

[Not complete, stopping at the Ādi Kāṇḍa, ch 82, stz 27 ]

- 6 Carey William and Joshua Marshman— The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, in the original Sanskrit. With a prose translation and explanatory notes 3 vols. Serampore, 1806-1810

[The 3 vols comprise Bks 1 and 2 only ]

7. Dharmadhikari Mahadev Shastri and Tatya Shastri Khedkar— Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa with Rāmavarman's commentary. Poṭhi-form Pub. by Ganpat Krishnaji's Press, Bombay. 4th ed. 1881.

- 8 Dharmalaya Edition, The, of the Rāmāyaṇa See no. 11 below.

9. Doddabele Narayana Shastri— Rāmāyaṇa, the Sundara-Kāṇḍa with Kannada word for word interpretation and paraphrase, 2 vols. Bangalore 1913.

10. **Gorresio, Gaspare**—*Vālmiki's Rāmāyana*, text in Devānagari in 6 vols. Parigi, 1843-1867.

[The edition represents the Gāṇḍa or the Bengāl recension of the Rāmāyana. Volume I, published in 1843, II, 1844, III, 1845, IV, 1848, V, 1850 XI, (Uttara-Kāṇḍa) 1867. Also see no 64 below.]

11. **Iyer, Krishnaswami**,—*Śrīmad Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇam*. Complete in 7 vols. Pub. by R. Subrahmanya Vadhyar and Sons., Kalhathi Palghat.

[This edition is known as the Dharmalaya Edition.]

12. **Katti Mudholkar Shastri, Shrinivas**,—*Rāmāyana of Vālmiki* with 3 commentaries called *Tilaka*, *Sīromani* and *Bhūsana*, with numerous readings and notes. 7 vols. The Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1919 ff.

13. **Khedkar Patya Shastri**—See no 7 above.

14. **Krishnacharya T. R. and Vyasacharya T. R.**—*Śrīmad Vālmiki-Rāmāyana* 3 vols. A critical edition with the commentary of *Śrī Govindarāja* and extracts from many other commentaries and readings. Bombay and Kumbhakonam, 1911-1913.

15. **Krishnacharya T. R.**—*Śrīmad Vālmiki-Rāmāyana*, according to Southern readings. 2nd edition with foot-notes. In 2 vols. Kumbhakonam, 1919. Rs. 6.

[This edition contains a useful Index of Subjects and Proper Names, pp. 555-590.]

16. **Lele K. V.**—*Rāmāyana*, text with Marathi translation, Val, 1897 A.D.—1900 A.D.

17. Marshman Joshua— See no 6 above.
18. Nirnaya Sagar Press— Rāmāyana, text only Pothi-form, bound in silk cloth. Rs 5.
19. do do —Sundara-Kānda, text only.  
Re 1 2 as.
20. do do. — See no 23 below.
21. Panchanana Tarkaratna— Rāmāyana with Bengali Translation. 3rd ed. Calcutta, 1904
22. Pandit V. D.— See no 27 below
23. Panshkar V L — The Rāmāyana of Vālmīki, with the commentary Tilaka of Rāma Complete in one volume. Pub by The Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 4th edition, 1930, Rs. 10.  
[Also see nos. 16 20 above]
24. Peterson, Peter— Rāmāyana, Bāla-Kānda, edited with Notes for the use of schools. Bombay, 2nd ed. 1893.
25. Raghu Vira Dr — Rāmāyana of Vālmīki: India's National Epic. Fascicule I comprising Cantos 1-6 of the Bālakānda. Pub. by International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore, July 1938 Rs 10.

[This is the first attempt to present a critical edition of the Rāmāyana, based on Mss. of all the recensions. Every page of this edition is divided into three textual columns—the left-hand one is reserved for the N. E. (or Bengal) text, the right-hand one is reserved for the South-

ern text and the central one is for the new text as adopted in this edition. Critical foot notes for each text are added under each column. It does not contain any Preface or Introduction, nor does it describe formally the MSS material used. It does not even explain the Editorial method. The North-Western recension has been ignored, for it has not been mentioned.]

26. Rama Labhaya, Pandit,— See no 3 above

27. Satavalekar Pandit S. D. and V. D. Pandit — S'ri Rāmāyana Mahākāvya with Marathi translation and a critical appreciation in Marathi. Pub. by Svādhyāya Māṇḍala, Aundh, 1941 ff. Rs 3 per vol

[This edition is to be complete in 10 Vols. So far Vol I, Bāla-kāṇḍa, 1941, II Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa part I, 1942 and VI, Sundarā-kāṇḍa, 1942 are out. The remaining volumes will appear in quick succession. The critical survey, in Marathi, accompanying each volume is a noteworthy feature of this edition and contains many original and thought-provoking observations, evincing a prolonged and profound study of the text by the editors.]

28. Schlegel A. G — Rāmāyana, Bonnæ A. D. Rhenum, Text with Latin Translation and Critical annotations, 3 vols. 1829-1838

[Vol. I, 2 parts, and vol. II, part 1, Only upto Canto 20, Kauśalyā-Vilāpa, of Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa.]

29. Sharma, Pandit Chaturvedi Dwarka Prasad,— the Rāmāyana with Bāḥṣā Tikā, 10 vols. Allahabad, 1927.

30. **Sharma Lakshmana**, and **S'astri P. K Ramaswami**—**S'rimad Vālmiki-Rāmāyana—Sundara-kāṇḍam**, with word for word and free translation and full notes (in English). Translated by Lakshmana Sharma and P K Ramaswami Shastri under the supervision of B V. Kameshwara Aiyar Parts I and II. Pp. 6, 90. and 2 plates, Madras, 1907.

31. **Shastri, Kuppaswami**, — **Rāmāyana of Vālmiki**, illustrated, with Index of half-verses bound separately. Pub R. Narayan Swami Aiyar, Madras Law Journal Press, Madras, 1934. Glaze-paper-ed. Rs. 4, India-paper-ed. Rs 5.

[This is a very handy one-volume edition of the text The Index of the half-verses is useful for critical study of the text But the Index of Proper names referred to on p vii of the Foreword is, however, not found in the 2nd vol 4 Mss and five earlier editions were utilized in the preparation of this edition On p viii of the Foreword we read the following announcement:—"The publisher of his edition proposes also to bring out, as early as practicable, a **critical edition** of the text of the Rāmāyana, together and in accordance with the famous commentary called **Katāka** by Mādhavayogin Arrangements for the publication of this commentary are in progress"]

32. **Shastri, P. K. Ramaswami**—See No. 30 above

33. **Shastri Ramakrishna of Kalpadi**—**Rāmāyana** with the commentary of Venkaṭeśvara Yajvā on the Bala-Kāṇḍa—the Aranya-Kāṇḍa and of Govinda rāja and Mahes'varatīrtha on the Kiskindhā-Kāṇḍa—Yuddha-Kāṇḍa. Kalpadi, 1903-1905.

- 34 **Shastrulu V. Ramaswami and Sons (Publishers)**—  
Rāmāyana in 1 vol 292 Esplanade, Madras, 1928,  
Silk cloth binding Rs. 5
35. do —Rāmāyana in 2 vols Cloth binding Rs. 5
36. do —Rāmāyana in 6 vols. Cloth binding.  
Re. 1-4-0 each.
- 37 **Sheshacharya Guttupalli**—Rāmāyana with Telugu  
translation, Madras, 1902.
- 38 **Shukla Maheshadatta**, of Dhanauli—Rāmāyana  
with Hindi translation Lucknow, 1902.
- 39 **Thakur Amareshwar and others**—Rāmāyana, Bengal  
recension, in Bengali characters, with Lokanātha's  
Commentry and Bangali Translation Calcutta Sk.  
Series no 2 Calcutta, 1932 ff. Re. 1 each part.  
[So far 48 parts, (up to the end of Yuddha-Kānda) are  
out]
40. **Vani Vilas Press (Publishers)**—Rāmāyana in 8 vols  
(upto Yuddha kānda only), Srirangam. Re 1-4-0  
per vol  
[Also see no. 83 below]
41. **Venkatakrishna Shastri, K** — Vālmiki's Rāmāyana  
with the commentaries of Govindarāja and Mahe-  
s'varatīrtha In Grantha characters. 3 vols.  
Madras, 1889.
42. **Venkataprapannabhi Swami**— Rāmāyana : the Sundara-  
kāṇḍa with Telugu translation. Madras, 1910.



43. Venkateshwar Press (Publishers) — Śrīmad Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, with 4 commentaries . Govindarājīyā (Bhūṣanā), Rāmānujī, Tanis'lokī and Māhes'wara-tīrthīyā, and extracts from commentaries like Munibhāvaprakāśikā and others. 3 vols Bombay, Rs 30.
44. do — Vālmiki-Rāmāyana with the Commentary Rāmābhīrāmīya Rs 14
45. do Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, Text only, unbound, big type Rs. 8.
46. do — Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, ed. by the late Pandit Jwala Prasad Mishra with the Hindi commentary, Pīyūṣadhārā Rs 30
47. do — Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, Sundara-kāṇḍa with Bhūṣana and two other Sanskrit commentaries. Unbound Rs. 2-8. ,
48. do — Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, Sundara-kāṇḍa with a Hindi commentary based on the Sanskrit commentary Bhūṣana Rs. 2-8.
49. do — Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, Sundara-kāṇḍa with a Hindi Commentary. Rs. 3.
50. do — Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, Sundara-kāṇḍa. Bound in Silk Cloth Re. 1.
51. do — Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, Sundara-kāṇḍa. Unbound. Rs. 2-8.

52. Vishwabandu Shastri— See no. 3 above.

53. Vyasacharya T. R.— See no. 14 above.

### Translations

54. Anantacharya, Pandit, S G.—*Tamil*—see no. 1 above

55. Arya-Muni— *Hindi*— see no 2 above

56. Bhave Vinayak Lakshman— *Marathi*— The Yuddha-Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana, translated into Marathi, 1907

57. Carey William—*English*, prose— see no. 6 above.

58. Dass Kirtee— *Bengali*—The Rāmāyana, translated into Bengali from the original Sanskrit 5 vols. Serampore, 1802.

59. Doddabele Narayana Shastri— *Kannada*— see no. 9 above.

60. Dravid B T.— *Marathi*, prose— Rāmakathāmr̥ta or Translation of the Vālmiki-Rāmāyana (रामकथा-मृत अथवा वाल्मीकिरामायणाचें सरळ गोष्टींच्या रूपानें भाषांतर).

61. Dutt M. N.— *English*, prose— The Rāmāyana translated into English prose from the original of Vālmiki in 7 Vols. Calcutta, 1889-1891.

62. Fauche Hyppolyte— *French*— French translation of the Rāmāyana, 9 Vols. Paris, 1854-1858.

63. Ghantopa G. K.—*Marathi*, prose—Vālmīkī-Rāma-Kāthā-Mahodaya 2 Vols Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1873 A D
64. Gorresio, Gaspare — *Italian*, prose—Rāmāyana, Poema Sanscrito Di Valmici, Traduzione Italiana Con Note Dal Testo Della Scuola, Gaudana 6 Vols. Parigi, 1847.1870.  
[Vol VI, 1847, VII, 1851, VIII, 1853, IX, 1856; X, 1858 XII (Uttara-Kānda) 1870 Also see no 10 above]
65. Griffith R. T. H — *English*, verse—The Rāmāyana of Vālmīkī, translated into English verse. 5 Vols London, 1870-1875.
66. do — *English*, verse— The Rāmāyana of Vālmīkī, translated into English verse, with a memoir of R. T H. Griffith by M. V Venkata-swami. In one vol. Benares, 1915
67. Lele K. V — *Marathi*, prose— See no 16 above.
68. do — do *Marathi* S'rī Vālmīkī Rāmāyana, Marathi prose translation only. 2 vols. Poona, 1903.
69. do — do — do 3 Vols.  
Pub by Chiplunkar and Co., Poona, 1928-1930.
70. Marshman Joshua— *English*, prose—see no. 6 above.
71. Memrad J — *German*—The Rāmāyana translated into German, Book I only. München, 1897.

- 72 Mishra, Pandit Jwalaprasad, — *Hindi*— Vālmiki-  
Rāmāyana translated into Hindi Pub. by S'rī  
Venkates'vara Press, Bombay. Rs 14.

[Also see no 46 above]

- 73 Panchanana Tarkaratna— *Bengali*— see no. 21 above
- 74 Pandit V D — *Marathi*, prose— See no 27 above
- 75 Parisot V — *French*— French Translation of the  
Rāmāyana, the Ādi-Kānda, Paris, 1853.
76. Roussel A — *French* — French translation of the  
Rāmāyana. 3 vols Paris, 1903-1909
- 77 Satavalekar Pandit S. D. — *Marathi*, prose— See no.  
27 above.
78. Sen Makhanlal— *English*, prose— The Rāmāyana,  
translated from the original of Vālmiki a  
modernised version into English prose Complete  
in 3 vols. Calutta, 1939.
- [On actual examination of the book, it is found out that  
it does not give a literal and word for word translation of  
the Rāmāyana]
79. Sharma K. Lakshmana— *English*, prose— See no 30  
above.
80. Shastri P K. Ramaswami— *English*, prose— See no.  
30 above.
81. Sheshacharya Guttupalli— *Telugu*— see no 37 above.
82. Shukla Maheshadatta— *Hindi*— see no. 38 above.

83. Vani Vilas Press— *English* translation of the Bala-Kāṇḍa. Re 1. .

do. — of the Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa, pt. 1. Re. 1.

[The Vani Vilas Press is bringing out an English translation of the Rāmāyana in 8 vols as companion vols. to the edition of the Text, for which see no. 40 above]

84. Venkataprapannabhi Swami— *Telugu*— see no. 42 above.

### Abridgments and Epitomes, etc

85. Ayyar P. V. Jagadish— Rāmāyana : an abstract in English of the famous Epic Madras, about 1922 Re. 1-8-0

[Reference in QJMS. Vol XIII]

86. Besant Annie— S'rī Rāmacandra : The Ideal King. Benares, 1901.

[The sub-title of the book is 'Some Lessons from the Rāmāyana,' but it really gives a detailed summary with occasional comments]

87. Dutt. R. C.— Rāmāyaṇa, the Epic of Rama, prince of India, condensed into English verse, (in 2000 English couplets). London, 1899. This is also available in Every Man's Library, no. 403.

88. Dutt R. C. and Headland C.— The Boy's Rāmāyaṇa. Calcutta, 1910.

- 89 Griffith R T H.—Scenes from the Rāmāyana. 1868; Panini Office Publications, Allahabad, 1912.
- 90 Havaladar G R.—(Marathi) Rāmāyanāmṛta (रामायणामृत, सौंदर्यस्थलासहित सक्षिप्त रामायण) Bombay, 1940. Re. 0-12-0.
- 91 Headland C and Dutt R C.—See no 88 above.
92. Paranjpe — Sārtha Sri Rāmāyana Subhasitāni, Pub. by—K B Dhavale. Bombay Re. 0-8-0  
[Moral verses from the Rāmāyana with Marathi Translation]
- 93 Pant, Shrimant Balasaheb Pandit, Pratinidhi, Chief (now Raja) of Aundh —The Picture Rāmāyana Bombay, 1916  
[This magnificent album contains 72 tricolour pictures, drawn by the Rajasaheb himself, based on various scenes from the Rāmāyana Each illustration is accompanied by a brief explanation of the scene in English]
94. Shastri P. P. S — Vālmīki Rāmāyana, condensed in the poet's own words. Text in Devanāgarī and translation in English, with a Foreword by Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Shrinivas Shastri. Madras, 1935. Re. 1-4-0.
- 95 Shastrulu V. Ramaswami (Publisher)—Rāmāyana-Sūkti-Sudhākara. Pub. by—V. Ramaswami Shastrulu & Sons, Madras. Re. 0-10-0
96. Tagore Rabindranath — Saṅkṣiptam Vālmīkiya-Rāmāyaṇam. Pub. by—The Indian Press, Allahabad. 1915.

97. Vaidya C V. Sanksipta Ramāyana Bombay, 1909.
98. Scenes from Rāmāyana Consisting of 109 plates, with their descriptions in English, Telegu, Tamil and Kanarese, Madras, 1929.

## General Criticism

### Books

99. Abhyankar M. G.—(Marathi)—When was Rāma married ? Poona. (रामाचें लग्न केव्हा झालें ?)  
[First published through the VJV XXXI 321ff]
100. do —(Marathi)—Vālmīki-Rāmāyana (वाल्मीकि-रामायण), Poona, 1903. Re 1.
101. do —(An essay in Marathi)—The Mahābhārata was witten after the Rāmāyana (रामायणा-नंतरचें महाभारत), 1901.  
[First published through the VJV XXXI 1, 61, 92, 113].
102. Aggarwala H. R — A Short History of Sanskrit Literature Lahore, 1941.  
[On the Rāmāyana pp 20-29 —(a) The Rāmāyana, (b) Its importance, (c) Recensions, (d) Contents, (e) Episodes, (f) Genuinness, (g) Date, (h) Style (i) Interrelation of the two Epics, pp 39-41]
103. Ananthacariar P B —The Vālmīki-Bhāvadīpa, a work on Vālmīki's Rāmāyana. Sasthramukthavali, 21. Canjeeveram, 1904.

- 104 Atma**—The Rāmāyana, what can it teach us?  
Pp 111 + 81 Pub by The Vedic Ashram, Begumpet,  
N.G.S R. 1927. Re. 0-3-0

[From P K Gode's Review of the Book in the ABI  
X 167-8 — "According to the interpretation of the  
'Ātmā', the Rāmāyana teaches us 'myth, allegory, legend  
history and besides these, Ideal Morality as well as Divine  
Spirituality' It teaches us 'the very same all-sided and  
harmonious culture of body, mind and soul, which it is  
the purpose of the Vedas also to teach mankind'"]

- 105 Bader Clarisse**—Women in Ancient India, London, 1925.  
[Woman in the Heroic Age The Rāmāyana—pp 89-225]

- 106. Beni Prasad**—The Theory of Government in Ancient  
India. Allahabad, 1927  
[Rāmāyana—pp 67-69]

- 107. Baumgartner**—Das Rāmāyana und Die Rāma-litera-  
tur der Inder Freiburg B 1894

[This book gives the survey of the whole Rāmā-litera-  
ture The contents of the book are as follows Introduction,  
(1) Rāma-Viṣṇu, (2) Valmiki's Rāmāyana—Sum-  
mary of Bks I-VII, (3) Source and Date of Composition  
of the Rāmāyana, (4) Poetic value of the Rāmāyana, (5)  
The Rāmāyana in the Mahābhārata and in the Purāṇas,  
(6) The Rāma-legend as Buddhistic narration, (7) The  
Rāma-story of Classical Sanskrit Literature (Kālidāsa's  
Raghuvamśa), (8) The Rāma-legend as Grammar-exam-  
ples-book (The Bhattikāvya), (9) The poem of Rāvana's,  
death (The Setubandha or Rāvanavaho), (10) The Rāma-  
dramas of Bhavabhūti (The Mahāvīracārīta and the  
Uttararāmacārīta), (11) Later Rāma-dramas, (12) The  
Hindī Rāmāyana of Tulasidāsa, (13) The Rāmāyana in



other dialects of India, (14) The Rāmāyana in the present-day life of the nation ]

- 108. Belvalkar S. K** — Rāmā's Latter History or Uttara Rāma-Carita HOS vol. 21, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1915

[On the Rāmāyana, pp xlvii—lxiii — (17) Vālmīki's Rāmāyana, its present form, (18) Rāma-story as given in Vālmīki's Rāmāyana, (19) Vālmīki's Rāmāyana not the sole source of our play, (20) Three forms of the Rāma-story in the Padma-Purāna, (21) The later history of Rāma as given by the Padma Purāna, (22) Sources of the Rāmāyana historical element, (23) The Rāmāyana a blending of history and allegory, Later Modifications of the Rāma-story, (24) Buddhistic form, (25) Jain forms, (26) Hindu forms ]

- 109. Bhave S. G** —(Marathi)—Vālmīki-Rāmāyana-Parīksana Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1920 Re. 1-8-0.

[This is a translation of the Riddle of the Rāmāyana by C V Vaidya For a Review of this Book see VJV 34 305 ]

- 110 Bothlingk G.**— Bemerkenswertes aus Rāmāyana ed. Bombay, Adhy. I-IV. Leipzig, 1887.

[i e. Some noteworthy things from the Rāmāyana, Bombay ed. or recension Adhy I-IV ]

- 111. Chatterjee B. N.**— India and Java, 2nd Ed. Greater Ind. Soc Bulletin No 5, Calcutta, 1933.

[The Rāmāyana in Java pp 29-41]

- 112. Dalal V S.**— A History of India From the Earliest Period, Vol I, Bombay, 1914.

[Rāmāyana pp. 174-197, 274-6 Date, p 195].

113. Das Nobin Chandra— A note on the Ancient Geography of Asia Compiled from Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. Calcutta, 1896
- 114 do — A note on the Antiquity of the Rāmāyaṇa, 1899. Re 1.
115. Date Y R —Mahārāstriya Jñāna Kosa, Vol XXIII.  
[Rāmāyaṇa, pp 57-59, The Story of the Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 59-67, The original and the interpolated portions in the Rāmāyaṇa, pp 67-69, the Date of the Rāmāyaṇa, pp 69-76]
116. Dharma, Miss P C.— The Rāmāyaṇa Polity. Published by Madras Law Journal Press, Madras, 1941. Rs 2-8 0  
[This book forms the Thesis accepted for the degree of D Litt by the University of Madras]
- 117 Dutt Ramesh Chunder— A History of Civilisation in ancient India, based on Sanskrit Literature, Calcutta, 1899  
[The Rāmāyaṇa, Vol I, pp 137-143 (The story of the Rāmāyaṇa 140-143)]
118. Egging J — Encyclopædia Britanica, 11th Edition, Vol. 24.  
[The Rāmāyaṇa, p 169]
- 119 Farquhar J. N.— An Outline of the Religious Literature of India. Oxford University Press, 1920.  
[The Rāmāyaṇa (and the Mbh) pp 83-85 For other incidental references to the Rāmāyaṇa, see the Index to this book]

120. Gadgil V. D.— (In Marathi) What Social, Religious and Political lessons can we learn from the life of S'rī Rāma ? (श्रीरामचरित्रापासून आणण सामाजिक, धार्मिक व राजकीय बोध काय घ्यावा ?) Deccan Hyderabad Printed, Tattvavivechak Press, Bombay, 1906.

121. Gowen H. H.— A History of Indian Literature London, 1931.

[The Rāmāyana, pp 239-253 (a Summary of the Epic with occasional comments )]

122. Grierson G. A — Kās'mīrī Rāmāyana, comprising S'rī Rāmāvatāra-carita and the Lavakus'ayuddha-carita of Divākara Prakās'a Bhatta Bibliotheca Indica Series, no 253 Calcutta, 1930 Rs 2-8-0.

[A romanised edition of a cycle of Rāma and Sītā legends living in the mouths of the Kashmiri people, labouriously pieced together from fragments collected from various sources The Kashmiri poem roughly corresponds with Vālmīki's Epic, but widely differs in detail The language of the poem is the modern Kās'mīrī described in the usual grammars In an Introduction the origin of the poem, peculiarities of its grammar and its metres are discussed as also the deviations from the story as told by Vālmīki. A detailed summary of the contents in English is added ]

123. Hopkins E. W.— The Great Epic of India Its Character and Origin. New York and London, 1902.

[References to the Rāmāyana— pp. 19, 27, 52, 55, 56, 58-84 (1 e 2nd ch Interrelation of the two Epics), 188, metre of the Rāmāyana, 226, 231, 236 ff., 242, 247, 264, 316, 317, 349 ff., 354, 361, 384, 395, also the Appendices, *passim* (App. A— Parallel phrases in the two Epics) and

473 References to Vālmīki, theif, 57, poet and saint  
58 ff, 61 ff, copied 204, 225, 229, 264, Yajurvedin, 368 ]

124. do — India Old and New, New York  
and London, 1902.

[The Rāmāyana, pp 80 91]

- 125 do. — Epic Mythology. Buhler's Ency  
of I A Research Vol III, pt 1 b Strassburg, 1915.

126. Iyengar Masti Venkatesh— The Poetry of Vālmīki,  
Bengalore, 1940, Rs 3-12-0.

[In the words of the author, 'it is a critical appreciation  
of the best parts of the Rāmāyana'. The book is meant for  
a general reader ]

- 127 Iyer, T. Paramashiva— Rāmāyana and Lankā  
Parts I and II. Bengalore, 1940' Rs 3-12-0

[Reviewed by M V Kibe in ABI XXII pp 123-127 ]

128. Jacobi Hermann— Das Rāmāyana : Geschichte  
und Inhalt, nebst Concordanz der Gedruckten  
Recensionen Bonn, 1893

[The Contents of the Book are as follows — Book I,  
Recensions—1 The interrelation of the three recensions and  
their genesis, p 1, 2 Repetition of the Departure of Hanu-  
man from Sitā, p 11, 3 Old references from the Rāmāyana  
and the Recensions Text about the variant readings of  
the departure of Hanūman from Sitā, p 12 Book II  
Proofs about the Interpolated passages— 1 External cri-  
terion of the Interpolation— the metre, p 25; 2 Exami-  
nation about the authenticity of individual passages, p 31,  
3 Continuation, p 37, 4 End. p 42, 5 The First Book  
reconstruction of original beginning, p 50 Book III  
Place of the Rāmāyana in Indian Literature— 1 Origin

120. Gadgil V. D.— (In Marathi) What Social, Religious and Political lessons can we learn from the life of S'rī Rāma ? (श्रीरामचरित्रापासून आपण सामाजिक, धार्मिक व राजकीय बोध काय घ्यावा ?) Deccan Hyderabad. Printed, Tattvavivechak Press, Bombay, 1906.

121. Gowen H. H — A History of Indian Literature London, 1931.

[The Rāmāyana, pp 239-253 (a Summary of the Epic with occasional comments)]

122. Grierson G A — Kās'mirī Rāmāyana, comprising S'rī Rāmāvatāra-carita and the Lavakus'ayuddha-carita of Divākara Prakās'a Bhaṭṭa Bibliotheca Indica Series, no 253 Calcutta, 1930. Rs 2-8-0.

[A romanised edition of a cycle of Rāma and Sītā legends living in the mouths of the Kashmiri people, labouriously pieced together from fragments collected from various sources. The Kashmiri poem roughly corresponds with Vālmiki's Epic, but widely differs in detail. The language of the poem is the modern Kās'mirī described in the usual grammars. In an Introduction the origin of the poem, peculiarities of its grammar and its metres are discussed as also the deviations from the story as told by Vālmiki. A detailed summary of the contents in English is added.]

123. Hopkins E W.—The Great Epic of India. Its Character and Origin. New York and London, 1902.

[References to the Rāmāyana—pp 19, 27, 52, 55, 56, 58-84 (1 e 2nd ch Interrelation of the two Epics), 188; metre of the Rāmāyana, 226, 231, 236 ff., 242, 247, 264, 316, 317, 349 ff., 354, 361, 384, 395, also the Appendices, *passim* (App A—Parallel phrases in the two Epics.) and

473 References to Vālmīki, theif, 57, poet and saint  
58 ff, 61 ff, copied 204, 225, 229, 264, Yajurvedin, 368 ]

124. do — India Old and New, New York  
and London, 1902.

[The Rāmāyana, pp 80 91].

- 125 do. — Epic Mythology. Buhler's Ency  
of I A Research Vol III, pt 1 b Strassburg, 1915

126. Iyengar Masti Venkatesh— The Poetry of Vālmīki,  
Bengalore, 1940, Rs 3-12-0.

[In the words of the author, 'it is a critical appreciation  
of the best parts of the Rāmāyana'. The book is meant for  
a general reader ]

- 127 Iyer, T. Paramashiva— Rāmāyana and Lankā  
Parts I and II. Bengalore, 1940' Rs 3-12-0

[Reviewed by M V Kibe in ABI XXII pp 123-127 ]

- 128 Jacobi Hermann— Das Rāmāyana : Geschichte  
und Inhalt, nebst Concordanz der Gedruckten  
Recensionen. Bonn, 1893.

[The Contents of the Book are as follows — Book I,  
Recensions— 1 The interrelation of the three recensions and  
their genesis, p 1, 2 Repetition of the Departure of Hanu-  
man from Sitā, p 11, 3 Old references from the Rāmāyana  
and the Recensions Text about the variant readings of  
the departure of Hanūman from Sitā, p 12 Book II  
Proofs about the Interpolated passages— 1 External cri-  
terion of the Interpolation— the metre, p 25, 2 Exami-  
nation about the authenticity of individual passages, p 31,  
3 Continuation, p 37, 4 End. p 42, 5 The First Book  
reconstruction of original beginning, p 50 Book III  
Place of the Rāmāyana in Indian Literature— 1. Origin

and Growth of the Rāmāyana, p 60, 2 Relation to the Mahābhārata, p 69, 3 Buddhistic Influence, p 84; 4 Greek Influence, p 94, 5 The Age of Rāmāyana, p 100, 6 The Epic Language, p 112, 7 The Poetic Art, p 119 8. Mythology of Rāmāyana, p 127. List of Contents of Rāmāyana according to Bombay recension, p 140 Index of Names to the list of Contents, p 208 Concordance of the Bombay and Gorresio's editions, p 220 Relation of the different editions from C to the numbering in the Concordance, p 248 Index of Names and subjects in the Das Rāmāyana (pp 1-139), p 249, Index of authenticated passages, p 253 Additions and Supplements p 254 ]

129. Kale T. G —(Marathi) Rāmāyana-Nirīksana Cr. pp 2, 4, 218, 28, 6, 4. 1914 Re 1-8-0

130. Kaye G R — Hindu Astronomy. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no 18  
[Rāmāyana, p 15]

131. Kelkar K. N.—(Marathi) Rāmāyana, Some thoughts on (रामायणावरील काही विचार) Poona.

132 Ketkar Dr S V.—(Marathi) Mahārāṣṭriya Jñāna-kos'a, Vol. I, pp 305-325.

133. do. — (Marathi) Prācīna-Mahārāṣṭra : Sātavāhana Parva. Poona, 1935.

[Ch. 24, Rāmāyana in the Brhatkathā and the social history to be gathered from it, pp. 161-169 ; Ch. 25, The Rāmāyana and the re-actions of the foreign civilization Ch. 170-176 (बृहत्कथेतील रामायण आणि त्यापासून निघणारा सामाजिक इतिहास. रामायण व बाह्यसंस्कृतीचे परिणाम)]

134. Kibe M V.—Rāvana's Lankā Discovered—a paper submitted to the All India Conference of Orientalists, Poona 1919 2nd ed, 1920 pp 16, 5 Size 9 5" × 6 5"

[App A of this Pamphlet contains English translation of a part of ch 3 of Bk III of Jacobi's Das Rāmāyana, giving Jacobi's views regarding the situation of Lankā, in which he says, "I doubt very much that the Lankā of Vālmiki means Ceylon"]

135. Krishnamachariar M — History of Classical Sanskrit Literature Madras, 1937 Rs. 10

[The Rāmāyana, Sec II pp 3-26 —Life of Vālmiki, Summary of the story (from R C Dutt's Civilization in Ancient India), Extracts from the writings of various scholars relating to the authenticity and signification of the narrative, Commentaries brief notices of about 38 Commentaries and other accessory works, mostly in Mss are given]

136. Lassen C — Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol II. 1843-1862

[Lassen's theory that the story of Rāma may be divided into four stages is quoted in Indian Wisdom, p 339]

137. Le'vi Sylvain — Sanskrit Texts from Bālī, GOS, no 67. Baroda, 1933.

[Pp 89-107—give the selections from the Caritā-Rāmāyana (Kavī Jānakī) and Caritra-Rāmāyana.]

138. Lile Aurthur — Rāma and Homer London. 1912.

[The sub-title of the book, viz "An argument that in the Indian Epics Homer found the theme of his two great poems" explains the purpose of the author in writing it.]



139. Ludwig A.— Über das Rāmāyana und die Beziehungen desselben zum Mahābhārata Prague 1894

[1 e On the Rāmāyana and its relations to the Mbh]

- 140 Luders H — Die Sage von Rṣyaśiṅga

[1 e The Legend of Rṣyaśiṅga First published in the NGGW, 1887, pp 1 ff, 1901, pp 1 ff H Luders has traced the older forms of this ballad, by comparing its different versions in Indian Literature]

- 141 Macdonell A. A — Sanskrit Literature W. Heine-  
mann Ltd, London, 1928

[(a) The Recensions of the Rāmāyana, pp 303 f, (b) The original Rāmāyana, pp 304 f, (c) The place of its origin, 305 f, (d) Date pp 306-310 (on the following arguments i Interrelation of the Rāmāyana and the Mbh ii Relation of the Rāmāyana to the Buddhistic Literature, iii Greek Influence, iv Political conditions described in the Rāmāyana, v Linguistic evidence; (e) The style of the Rāmāyana p 310, (f) The two parts of the Rāmāyana pp 311 f — The 1st part extends upto the return of Bharata, the second is based on Indian Mythology (acc to Jacobi) or it is an allegorical representation of the first attempt of the Aryans to conquer the South (acc to Lassen), (g) Summary of the main story pp. 313 f, (h) Latter additions to the Rāmāyana pp 315 ff, (i) The popularity of the Rāmāyana p 317]

142. do — Encyclopædia of Ethics and Religion  
Vol X.

[Rāmāyana— pp 574 578]

143. Mahārāstriya—(Marathi) Śrī Rāmāyaṇa-Samālocanā  
athavā Rāmāyaṇacā Upasamhāra (श्री रामायण समालो-

चना अथवा रामायणाचा उपसंहार ) Vol. I pts 1-7, Vol II pts 8-11 pp 370+504. Pub by G. V. Ciplunkar and Co , Poona, 1927

[This is an original and important contribution to the study of the Rāmāyana, and is indispensable to the careful students of the Epic The contents of the book are — Vol I, Ch 1 —The greatness of the Rāmāyana, 1-48, ch 2, The state of the Society as depicted in the Rāmāyana, pp 49-155, ch 3, The Rāksasas in the Rāmāyana pp 156-199, ch 4, The Vānaras in the Rāmāyana pp 200-238, ch 5, Legends and the Rāmāyana, pp 264-288, ch 7, The Interpolations in the Rāmāyana, 239-263, ch 6, Some Problems about the Rāmāyana pp 289-370 Vol II — ch 8, Miscellaneous Topics, 1-135, ch 9, The Geography of the Rāmāyana, pp 136-240, Lankā pp 187-237, ch 10, the estimate of the characters in the Rāmāyana, pp 241-338, ch 11, Different redactions of the Rāmāyana pp 339-448 9 Appendices, 449-504]

- 144 Majumdar R. C** —Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization Calcutta, 1927.

[The Rāmāyana, pp 265-173 —Story, and Historical truths to be deduced from Rāmāyana]

- 145. Manning Mrs** — Ancient and Mediaeval India London, 1869

[The Rāmāyana, Vol II, pp 1-28]

- 146. Masson oursel Paul and Hellena William and Grabowska Phillippe Stern** — Ancient India and Indian Civilization. Kegan Paul, London, 1934, Rs. 18-8-0

[Rāmāyana, pp 255-260.]

147. Mehta C N. — Sundara-Kāṇḍam or the Flight of Hanuman to Lankā via Sunda Islands by the Air Route Nadiad, Bombay Presidency, 1941, Rs 2.

["An effort has been made" in his book "to determine which places could possibly have been in the Poet's mind according to the present physical geography of the world when he described the flight of Hanuman from Mahendragiri to the Lankā of Rāvana, which races of mankind lived in the different parts of the world, what the Poet believed to be the extent of Sugrīva's empire and the weapons and resources available in the Great War" For the most part the book is full of copious extracts from the Sundara-Kāṇḍa in particular and other parts of the Rāmāyana in general, together with their translation, not always quite accurate In spite of the novelty of the theory about Hanumat's flight to Lankā and the location thereof in Australia, the book cannot be taken as a serious contribution to the study of the geography of the Rāmāyana on account of the uncritical presentation of the subject-matter]

148. Menon C Narayana — An approach to the Rāmāyana, pp. 27. Benares Hindu University Press, Benares, 1942

[First published in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University Vol VI 80-103. The author 'regards that the Rāmāyana represents a synthesis of the cults and cultures prevalent in different parts of India' This book is reviewed in QJMS (1942) XXXII. pp. 429-30]

149. Monier-Williams, M — Indian Epic Poetry. London, 1863.

[This book gives a more complete analysis of the Rāmāyana (and the Mbh.) than that contained in the Indian

Wisdom, for which see below 'A portion of the matter of this chapter (ie ch XII) and of that on the Mbh was delivered by me as a public lecture before the University of Oxford on the 9th of May 1862, and was afterwards published in a little work called 'Indian Epic Poetry' which is now out of print'—Indian Wisdom, p 306]

150. do —Indian Wisdom, or Examples of the Religious, Philosophical, and Ethical doctrines of the Hindus, with a brief history of the chief departments of Sanskrit Literature. 4th edition, London, 1893

[The Rāmāyana, pp 335 369]

- 151 Muir J — Original Sanskrit Texts, Vols I-V, London, 1868-1870

[Rāmāyana—(1) Quotations from the R on the Creation and on the origin of the Casts, Vol I, pp 114-122 (2) The legend of Vas'istha and his cow and other legends, according to the R, Vol I, pp 397-410 (3) Several passages from the R in which the colloquial use of Sanskrit is mentioned, Vol II, pp 157-159, (4) Rāmāyana-passages bearing on the Advance of the Arians from the Doab across the Vindhya Mts; and their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekhan, Vol II, pp 405 421, (5) Passage from the R regarding Brahma, Viṣṇu's three strides and the legendary history of Rāma, Vol IV, pp 374-418]

152. Omen J C.—The Stories of the Rāmāyana and the Mbh London, 1894.

153. Pandya M. C —Intelligent Man's Guide to Indian Philosophy. Bombay, 1935.

[Epic Philosophy Of the Rāmāyana, pp 112-113]

154. **Paranjpe Shivram Mahadev**—(in Marathi) Some Thoughts on the Rāmāyana (रामायणाविषयी काही विचार) Poona.

155. **Pavolini P** —Crestomazia del Rāmāyana di Vālmiki con not bibliogr e Con estratti dal commento di Rāmavarman, Firenze, 1895

[I e selections from the Rāmāyana with notes and extracts from the com of Rāmavarman, ]

156. **Peter I S** — Beowulf and the Rāmāyana A study in the Epic Poetry London, 1934 Rs 9

[“The book deals with the poetical and social conditions, the women, the philosophy etc in the ages of the Anglo-Saxon Epic “Beowulf” and the Rāmāyana. The author’s new ideas about the construction of the Rāmāyana, its hero and other characters, its mythological and historical portion etc etc are worth consideration” Mehechand Lacchmidas’s Catalogue of 1939, p. 11, no 109]

157. **Raghu Vira**,—Rāmāyana in China.

[See no 186 below]

158. **Rangacharya V** —Pre-Musalman India, Vol II pt. 1, Vedic India. Madras, 1937. Rs 10.

[Value of the Rāmāyana, pp 40-42, antiquity of the Rāmāyana, pp 124-138]

159. **Ratnam M Venkata**—Rāma the greatest Paroah of Egypt 2 vols Rajamahendri, 1934, Rs. 15

[This book seeks to prove that every statement made in the Rāmāyana really applies to Ramesis II of Egypt and consequently Rāma was an Egyptian and not an Indian]

160. Reed Elizabeth—Hindu Literature. Chicago, 1907  
[The Rāmāyana pp 153-160]
- 161 Ridgeway W.—The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non European Races Cambridge, 1915  
[Rāmāyana— pp 131-136 Also see the Index to the book for stray references to the R]
- 162 Roussel M. A — Les anomalies du Rāmāyana Paris, 1910  
[I e the anomalies of the Rāmāyana pp. 69]
- 163 Roussel, M. A — Rāmāyanā Etude philology Louvain, 1912  
[I e the Rāmāyana, a philological study, pp 160]
164. Ruben Walter — Studien zur Text-geschichte des Rāmāyana (I e studies in the history of the text of the Rāmāyana) pp.XVII, 263, Stuttgart, 1936. Price Ca. Rm. 18.  
[The contents are: Foreword, Mss eds and Commentaries (A) Examination of the Text history of the Rāmāyana I Survey of the Versions II Some commentaries on the Rāmāyana and their authors, Contradictory references and passages that bear on the Text-history of the Rāmāyana (a) The D-version —(1) Rāmānuja's Com (2) Rāmāyanatattvādīpikā of Mahes'varatīrtha (3) Rāmāyana Bhūṣana of Govindarāja (b) The C-version —(4) Kāṭaka Tikā, (5) Tilaka of Rāmavarman, (6) Rāmāyana-Śīromani-Tikā of Śrīvams'īdhara and Śrīvasahāya (7) Tikā-śīromanī. (c) The B version — (8) Manoharā of Lokanātha (d) Composition III The Mss (mainly for the specimens 1-4) (1) Agreements of North and South in Individual readings (2) The Southern Mss in relation to the Northern Mss.]

(3) The Northern Mss in relation to the Southern Mss  
 (4) Influence of N on S and of S on N (5) Relation of the N Mss among themselves (6) Relation of the S Mss among themselves IV Testimonials (essentially for specimens 1-4) —(1) Mahābhārata XIII, 81, 3822-30, (2) Harivamśa, 12825-56, (3) Harivamśa 12377-421, (4) Saddharma Smṛtyupasthāna Sūtra (5) Ksemendra's Rāmāyana-mañjarī, (6) Rāmopākhyana etc V Estimate of the N and S versions (variants, and interpolations, and the reconstruction of the Achetypes of 1-4) VI Their hypothetic Ur-text, sample 5 VII Examination of an Epic scene (sample 6) (1) Estimate of the version, (2) Brahmanization of the Rāmāyana (B) Specimens of the Text —(1) Concordance of 1-4 (2) Text of 1, (3) text of 2, (4) Text of 3, (5) Text of 4 (6) Concordance, Text and remarks on 5, (7) Concordance and remarks on 6 (C) Appendix (1) Introduction of the Com of Rāmavarman (2) Theological passages from the Kataka-tīkā (3) The Text of the Mahābhārata, (4) Epic Character of the Geography in 1-4 (5) Index of Parallel Passages in 1-4 in the Mbh and the Rāmāyana (6) Index of Names in 1-4 (7) The Suta]

165. **Rumde C. G.** — (In Marathi) A chronological list of events in the Rāmāyana (सीतारामाची रोजनिशी) Bombay, 1908.

166. **Samaddar J. N.** — Lectures on the Economic condition of Ancient India. Calcutta, 1922

[The Rāmāyana from the Economic point, pp 67-81]

167. **Sastri Kokileswar** — A Brief History of Sanskrit Literature. Calcutta, 1933.

[Rāmāyana pp 33-39 I The Sources of the R II The R is earlier than the Mbh and its casting of the plot is pre-Buddhistic, III Some remarks on the age of the R IV Comparison between the two Epics V Pre-Buddhistic origin of the R]

168. Sen D C — The Bengali Rāmāyana Calcutta; 1920

["This is the most valuable contribution to the Rāmāyana-saga which has appeared since Prof Jacobi's work on the Rāmāyana was published in 1893"—Sir G A Grierson in his review of the book in JRAS, 1922, pp 135 139 The first two chs of this book (pp 1-64) deal with Valmīki Rāmāyana and the Jātakas, Hanumān, and the supplementary Cantos of the Rāmāyana According to the author, (1) "The Epic belongs to a later age than the Jātakas, for the Epic of Vālmīki is replete with stories that are materially similar to a large number of the birth-tales even in details (2) The legends of Rāma and Rāvana were prevalent in this country as distinctly different tales, independent of each other These were subsequently mixed up somehow or other and Vālmīki for the first time gave the united story the consistency and homogeneity that mark the great national Epic (3) The worship of Hanumān is not an isolated phrase in Indian Religious system, but it is only a survival of a primitive custom of Ape-worship that universally obtained among the various nations of the ancient world (4) Vālmīki's Epic placed before the Hindu people a supreme ideal of domestic life as a protest against the prevailing asceticism of the time (5) The Bengali Rāmāyana is not merely an abridgment or summary of Vālmīki's epic, ..the Bengali life has mainly moulded the epic with its own peculiar ideas and



thoughts, and this is why the poem is so universally popular in Bengal"]

- 169 Siddhanta N. K — The Heroic Age of India Kegan Paul, London. Price 12-6 sh
- 170 Sluszkiewicz E, — Przyczyunki do badan nad dziejami redakcyj Rāmāyany Krakow, 1938  
[The Contributions to the history of the recensions of the Rāmāyana Original in *Polish* with a summary in *French*]
171. Speir, Mrs — Life in Ancient India London, 1856.  
[Rāmāyana, pp 98-120]
172. Stutterheim W. — Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien 1924
173. Subbarao Yedatore—(in Kannada) Śrī Rāmāyanada Antarartha or Mokṣhamārga Pradīpika About 1932. Rs. 6  
[Reviewed in QJMS, XXII 514 This book is an attempt to give philosophical meaning to the Rāmāyana story The identification of the chief places given in the epic with the *cakras* (mentioned in the books on Yoga) does not seem to be justified]
174. Tilak B. G.—The Arctic Home in the Vedas. Poona, 1925.  
[Rāmāyana, pp 327, 347-349. The two main points noted are (1) Mythical element in the R., is probably derived from the Vedic mythology and (2) the R and the Illiad had probably a common source]
175. Telang K. T.—Was Rāmāyaṇa copied from Homer? A reply to Prof. Weber. Bombay, 1873.

176. Tripathi R. S.—History of Ancient India. Benares, 1942.  
[Rāmāyana pp 62-65]
177. Trivedi R. M — (in Gujarati) Vālmikīnūn Ārsa-Dars'ana. Ahamedabad, 1934. Re 1-8
178. Tryambakarayamakhi— Dharmākūtam. A series of dissertations on the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki. Vols. I-III. (Bāla-kānda and Ayodhyā-kānda, 2 parts). S'ri Vanī Vilas Sanskrit Series no, 24, I-III. Srirangam, 1916-1926.
179. Toussaint, Fr.—Le Rāmāyana dans un vase de jade, un banian qui a 30 siècles. Paris, 1926  
[i.e The Rāmāyana in a vase of jade etc ]
180. Vaidya C. V — The Riddle of the Rāmāyana. Bombay, 1906 Rs. 2

[This is the only book in English, even to this day, which presents a comprehensive study of the Rāmāyana "from the poetical and historical standpoints." The work is divided into two books Book I—The Rāmāyana as a Poem, consists of six chapters on (1) The Author, (2) The Present Rāmāyana different from the Original Poem of Vālmiki, (3) The Date of the Compilation of the Rāmāyana in its present form, (4) Why the original poem of Vālmiki was recast, (5) Other additions made in imitation of the Mahābhārata, and (6) The Rāmāyana as an Epic Poem. Book II—The Rāmāyana as a History, is divided into 14 chapters bearing the following titles (1) Weber's theory about the story unsound, (2) The Historical explanation of Indian Mythology, (3) The Sun-race of Ayodhyā

(4) The various aboriginal races in India and their idealisation into supernatural beings, (5) The Rākṣasas—their origin and their abode, (6) Their personal appearance and their cannibalism, (7) Their early conflicts with the Aryans, (8) Rāma's birth, early life and marriage with Sītā, (9) The slip between the cup and the lip, (10) The faithfulness of Bhārata, (11) The abduction of Sītā, (12) The alliance with the monkeys, (13) The seize of Lankā, (14) The painful sequel

Appendix (Note 1) The Extent of the Rāmāyana and its Bombay and Bengal versions, (2) Differences between the Rāmopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, (3) Some excellent sayings in the Rāmāyana, (4) Das'aratha Jātaka Extracts from the translation by V. Fausboll, (5) Rākṣasa Names, (6) Was Sītā's marriage a child-marriage? (7) Did Rāma precede Kṛṣṇa?]

181. **Vivekananda Swamī**—The complete works of Swamī Vivekananda,—The Mayavati Memorial Edition, Part 4. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, 1909  
[The Rāmāyana, pp 777-784]

182. **Weber A.**—The History of Indian Literature. Translated into English by John Mann and Theodor Zachariæ. London, 2nd ed 1890.

[The Rāmāyana, pp 191-194 (a) Its allegorical character, (b) Colonisation of South-India, (c) Different Recensions of the Text]

183. **Weber A.**—The Rāmāyana. Translated from the German by the Rev. D C. Boyd, M A., Pub. by Bombay: Thacker, Vining & Co., London: N. Trübner & Co., 1873

[This book contains the translation of Weber's Article  
"Ueber das Rāmāyana" in The Indian Antiquary Vol I]

184. Wheeler J Talboys—History of India from the Earliest Times, Vol. II : Rāmāyana and the Brahmanic Period. London, 1869
185. do —College History of India London, 1888.  
[Rāmāyana, pp 33-37 mainly give a summary of the story with a few comments ]
186. do —Tales from Indian History. London, 5th ed , 1891  
[Rāmāyana, pp 16-29 A more detailed summary of the story than that given in the foregoing book ]
187. Winternitz M.— Indian Literature, Vol. I. Pub. by The University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1927  
[The Rāmāyana—pp 475-517, (a) The Rāmāyana both as a popular Epic and an Ornate poem, 475-479, (b) Contents of the Rāmāyana, 479-495, (c) The genuine and the spurious in the Rāmāyana, 495-500, (d) The age of the Rāmāyana, 500-517.]
188. Wirtz H —Die Westliche Rezension des Rāmāyana (1 e. The Western recension of the Rāmāyana. An Inaugural Dissertation.) Bonn, 1894.
189. Yamamoto, Chikyo and Dr Raghu Vira— The Rāmāyana in China, Size 10 5" x 14 5". pp. IV, 6. Lahore, 1938 Rs 6 (Sarasvatī Vihāra Series).  
[The contents of the book are (1) Jātaks of an unnamed king, (2) Nidāna of king "Ten Luxuries" translated into

English from Chinese Pp III-IV give an English Translation of the Pāli Das'aratha Jātaka ]

190. Zieseniss, A.—Die Rāma-Sage bei den Malaien, ihre Herkunft und Gestaltung. Hamburg, 1928

[ i e The Rāma-saga among the Malaysians, its origin and development ]

## General Criticism

### Papers

191. Adhikari N. S.—Lankā of Rāvaṇa JBBRAS, XXV (1920-21). 498-503.

[ 'On four distinct but on converging lines (1) mileage in the Rāmāyana, (2) phonetic agreement or identity of some present sites with places mentioned in the Rāmāyana, (3) external evidence furnished by the Purānas, and (4) the astronomical data furnished by Bhāskarācārya, we reach the definite conclusion that Lankā cannot be Ceylon, but it can *never* be within the boundaries of Bharata-varṣa. It is the present **Sumatra**; at any rate it must have been near Sumatra which is what now remains of old Lankā '']

192. Aiyangar K. V. Rangaswami—Govindarāja. ABI. XXIII (Silver Jubilee Volume). 32-54.

193. Aiyar B V Kameshwara—Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa and the Western Critics. QJMS. XVI 240-252

194. Aiyar R. Narayana—“Sītā a liar ? stuff and nonsense !” Pub. by the author, 9 Barnaby Rd., Kilpauk, Madras, 1941.

[In this paper the author discusses the reply made by Sītā to her Rākṣasa-wardiesses (Sundara-Kāṇḍa, 40 9-10) denying all knowledge of Hanumat's visit to her. The author notes that "this is the solitary instance of a 'lie direct' from Sītā's lips," and concludes that she uttered the lie not to save herself, Hanumān, or the cause of Rāma viz to rescue her after killing Rāvana, but to protect the Raksasīs themselves from the terrible wrath of Rāvana, as she had promised to protect them (Sundara-Kāṇḍa 58 89). Rāvana would have killed them all, for neglect of duty, had they reported to him that they all had gone off to sleep when Hanumat met Sītā.]

195. do — The Plot in Aranya-Kāṇḍa. Gopala-kṛṣṇnamacharya Book of Commemoration, Pub. by Kabeer Printing Works, Triplicane, Madras, 1942

[In this interesting paper, the author raises and answers the following questions (1) What was Rāvana's original idea (about the plot for the abduction of Sītā)? (2) In what respects did he modify it (at his second meeting with Mārīca, Aranya-Kāṇḍa 35 ff.) and why? (3) What did he fail to reckon with, which might have balked his plan?]

196. Aiyaswami Shastri, N.—References to Ancient stories in the Rāmāyaṇa. JOR V. 101-107.
197. Altekar S. A.—(In *Marathi*) The Monogamy of S'ri Rāma (श्रीरामाचें एकपत्नीव्रत) CJ (1937) 28 423-424
198. Bailey H. W.—The Rāma story in Khotanese JAOS 59.460-68
199. Banerji B. C.—The Position of the Non-Aryans in

the Age of the Rāmāyana Sanskrit Bharatī (Supplement) Vol III. -12, 38-41, ...-83, 107-113, Vol. IV (no. 1) 1-8.

200. Barua B.—Vālmīki as he reveals himself in his poem : a psychological approach. Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee Sil. Jub. Vols. III, Orientalia, pt 1 390-414
201. Behare N. K.—(In *Marathi*) The greatness of the Rāmāyana (रामायणाची योग्यता), The *Manoranjana*, Aug. 1916.
202. Bhandarkar D. R.—Dandakāranya Jha Com. Vol pp. 47-57, Poona, 1937.  
[“The evidence furnished by Vālmīki’s Rāmāyana tends to show that after all Dandakāranya was no other than Mahārastra”]
203. Bhandarkar R. G.—Bhavabhūti’s Quotations from the Rāmāyana. IA. II pp. 123-4.
204. Bhide H. B.—(In *Marathi*) Pañcavaṭī and Kiskindha VJV XLIX 57 ff
205. Borvankar Haribhau of Khamgaon—(In *Marathi*) The Das’aratha Jātaka and the Vālmīki-Rāmāyana. The *Purusārtha* of Aundha, 1930-31. Vol VII 458-466
206. Bothlingk O.—Zur Kritik des Rāmāyana. (i. e. on the Criticism of the Rāmāyana) ZDMG (1889). 43. pp. 53-68.

[This paper contains a collection of archaisms in the Rāmāyana Bks I-IV of the Bombay recension]

- 207 Chhabra B Ch — War between Seleucus and Candragupta in the Rāmāyana. Woolner Com Vol pp 51-52 Lahore, 1940

[The paper contains a historical interpretation of the Rāmāyana Uttarakānda chs 100-101 (Bombay ed)]

208. Chand Dr H —The Eastern Recension of the Rāmāyana and its relation to other recensions.

[A paper on the above subject was read before the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, 1928 Ref IHQ IV 790]

209. Chatterji S K.—Some Rāmāyana Reliefs from Prambanan. The *Rupam* Jan.-Apr. 1928.

210. De S. K —(A Review) The Rāmāyana of Vālmiki in the North-Western recension, the Kiskindhā-Kānda ed by Vishvabandhu Shastri. Lahore, 1936. OLD II. 207.

211. Dharma Miss P.C —Women during the Rāmāyana Period. JIH XVII 1 28

["Many interesting bits of information about the habits, customs, education, accomplishments, toilette, status and rights of women as gathered from the Rāmāyana are given in this paper"]

212. do. —Social Life in the Rāmāyana. QJMS XXVIII pp 1-19, 73-83

[Sec I—Food, pp 1-14, Sec II—Drink, 14-19, Sec III



—Toilet, 73-70 Sec IV—Clothing, 80 81, Sec V—  
Common Recreations, 81-83 ]

213. do —Some Customs and Beliefs from the  
Rāmāyaṇa. PO. II.112-124, 152-163.
214. do. —Occupations and Professions as seen  
in the Rāmāyaṇa ABI. XIX 127-146.
215. do. —The Musical Culture in the Rāmā-  
yana IC IV. 445-454.
216. Dikshitar V. R. R — South India in the Rāmāyana.  
A paper sent to the VII All India Oriental Con-  
ference, Baroda, 1933  
[An attempt is made in this paper to examine the histo-  
rical data furnished by the epic regarding the Deccan and  
South India ]
217. do — Geographical data of the Deccan  
and South India as gathered from the Rāmāyaṇa.  
IC. I. 579-585.
218. Diskalkar D B —Ceylon and Lankā are different.  
QJMS. XVIII 67.  
[“I am glad to procure an epigraphical evidence of about  
the 6th century A D. in support of his [Vader’s] theory.”  
The author then quotes the 7th verse of the Bodha Gaya  
Inscription of Mahānāman (Fleet’s Gupta Inscription no 71)  
“I am therefore of opinion that Ceylon (i e Āmradvīpa)  
and Lankā are different as Mr Vader has shown”]
219. Divekar H. R —(In Marathi) Rāvaṇa. The *Mano-  
rañjana*, 1920

220. Dvekar Mahadevshastrī—(In *Marathi*) Mr. Jadhav-rao's attempts to prove that Rāma was an Anārya (रामाला अनार्य ठरविण्याची जाधवरावाची खटाटोप). The *Purusārtha* (1936-7) Vol XIII. 325-329.
- 221 do. —(In *Marathi*) The allegation that Rāma's country was not in the Āryāvarta (म्हणे रामाचा देश आर्यावर्तात नव्हता) The *Purusārtha* (1936-7) Vol XIII 329-332.
222. Dvivedī Gopalkrishnashastrī—(In *Hindi*) The Ādi Kavi Vālmīki and his Immortal Composition (आदिकवि वाल्मीकि तथा उनकी अमर रचना) The *Vikrama* Vol I, pp. 41-48.
223. Friederich R.—On the old Javanic Rāmāyana—JRAS 1876 pp 172 ff
224. Ghosh J C — A Note on Rāvana's Lankā located in Central India. ABI. XIX 84-86.  
[In support of the theory that Rāvana's Lankā was located in Central India, the writer adduces evidence to show that in ancient times there existed on the border of Madhyades'a a region called Lankā]
225. do. —Simhala in Central India. NIA. (1938) Vol. I. p. 463.  
[The author adduces evidence from the Kalkī Purāna in support of Mr Kibe's theory, locating Rāvana's Lankā in Central India]
226. do. — Rāvaṇa's Lankā located in Central India. IHQ. V. 355-356.

["In the December number of the IHQ, 1928, Mr Kibe ... tried to locate Lankā on the peak of the Amarakantaka in Central India. We give some additional proof which goes strongly to support his conclusion. This is a coin of a Gonda king named Sangrāma Sābi Deva who ruled in Central Provinces for about 50 years from 1493-1543 A C. He styled himself as of "Paulastya-Vams'a". Now Paulastya-Vams'a is equivalent to Rāmāna's Vams'a and the Gonds of Amarakantaka claimed and still claim descent from Rāvana."]

- 227. Ghosh Manomohan**— On the source of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyana Kakavin, JGIS, III no 1

[By the examination of the Kakavin, the Old-Javanese work of Yogīs'vara Mr Ghosh comes to the conclusion that it was partly a translation and partly an adaptation of the Bhaṭṭikāvya]

- 228. Ghosh N. N**— The Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata : a Sociological Study Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee Sil. Jub Com. Vols III, Orientalia pt. 2, no 20.

- 229. Grierson G. A.**— (A Review) 'The Bengali Rāmayanas by D. C. Sen. JRAS. 1922, pp 135-139.

["This is the most valuable contribution to the literature on the 'Rāma-saga' which has appeared since Professor Jacobi's work on the Rāmāyana was Published in 1893. The latter was confined to Vālmīki's famous epic, and the present volume . carries the inquiry on to a further stage and throws light both on the origins of the story and on its later developments"]

- 230. do.** — Indian Epic Poetry. IA. XXIII  
[Place of the Rāmāyana in literature, p 345]

- 231 Guba Rajan.kanta— The three types of Civilization in the Rāmāyana. MR. LXV. 69-79.

[The three types are the king of Ayodhyā, the Vānaras, and the ruler of Lankā The writer differentiates three types of civilization from each other]

232. do. — As'vaghosa and the Rāmāyana. JPASB (new series) Vol XXIII no.3.

[The author tries to show that As'vaghosa was greatly influenced by the Kāvya-style of the Rāmāyana]

233. Gurner C W — Development of the R̥tusamhāra theme in the Rāmāyana — JPASB XXVI no 1 (1930)

[Passages from the Rāmāyana containing descriptions of the seasons have been pointed out to show that they have immensely influenced the descriptions of seasons by later writers]

234. Hatvalne D. M — (In *Marathi*) The Jain Versions of the R (रामायणाचे जैन अवतार) CJ (1934), Vol. XXV, pp.176-177.

235. Hiralal Dr.— The Situation of Rāvaṇa's Lankā. Jha Com. Vol. pp 151-163. Poona 1937.

236. Hopkins E W.—The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India JAOS 13. 57-376.

237. do. — Phrases of Time and Age in the Sk. Epic JAOS. 23.350-357.

- 238 do. Epic Chronology. JAOS, 24.7-56.

[The paper deals with the following topics Negative Time, Indefinite Periods, Definite Divisions, Day and Night, Months and Seasons, The Planets, Sun, Year Ages, Aeons and Cycles, Excursus (Analysis of Epic Dates)]

- 239 do — The Original Rāmāyana. JAOS 46 202-219 (1926)
- ["From a study of the N W recension of the Rāmāyana the author of the paper concludes that the view that an Adi-Rāmāyana, referred to in some Maithili works, has been the original of the several recensions is wrong and that the texts have been handed down by word of mouth, the oral versions being at a later period reduced to writing according to local authorities"]
- 240 do. -- Allusions to the Rāma-story in the Mahābhārata JAOS (1930) Vol 50.85-103.
241. do. — The Oath in Hindu Epic Literature. JAOS (1932) Vol 52, 316-333.
242. do Parallel Features in the two Epics. AJP 19.138-151
- 243 do Proverbs and Tales Common to the two Epics. AJP. 20.22-39.
244. do. — Magic Observances in the Hindu Epic. —Pr Amr. Philos. Soc 49.20-24 .
245. Hubert— Le Legend du Rāmāyana en Annam. Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Tome V.
- [i.e. the legend of Rāma in Annam or Cambodia.]

246. Iyer K. A. Subrahmanya—Studies in the Imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa. JOR III. 292-301, IV. 32— . . 127 — , 341-350; V.148-155
247. Iyer K. Balasubrahmanya—Vālmīki's Art. Indian Review (1942) Vol 43, pp.637-638.
248. Jacobi Hermann Georg—Ein Beitrag zur Rāmāyana-Kritik etc ZDMG (1897) Vol 51 no. 4.  
[i e a contribution towards the criticism of the Rāmāyana etc
- 249 do — War das Epos and die profane Litteratur Indiens ursprünglich in Prakrit abgefasst? ZDMG (1894) Vol XLVIII. 407-417.  
[i e Was the Epic and profane Literature of India originally composed in Prakrit?
- 250 John Danial—Rāvana's Lankā. ABI XXI. 270-279.  
[“The several descriptions of the journeys to and from Rāvana's Lankā given by Vālmīki are geographically correct, consistent and clear. Poetical expressions and conventional embellishments should not be allowed to mislead us  
Rāvana's Lanka was *not* on the Vindhya Range but on an island in the midst of the sea off the Southern or South-eastern coast of the Island of Ceylon”]
251. K. S. K.—Kambar and Vālmīki. The *Anāhira*, Sept. 1937.
252. Kane P. V.—(In *Marathi*) The Society in the Days of (the Mahābhārata and) the Rāmāyaṇa. (भारत-रामायणकालीन समाजस्थिति). VJV. 41, nos. 9-12 pp.1-53.

253. Kanetkar D. V — (In *Marathi*) Refutation of charges against Rāma (रामावरील आरोपांचें निरसन). CJ (1917) Vol 8, pp 121-124.
- 254 Kats J.—The Rāmāyana in Indonesia BSOS IV. pp 579-585.  
 [The writer on the findings of Dr Dinesh Chandra Sen tries to find out the relationship between the chief characters in the Rāmāyana as current in Java and Sumatra]
255. Keith A. B — Archaisms in the Rāmāyana. JRAS. 1910. pp.1321-1326.
256. do. —A note on the above (i.e T.Michelson's Paper in JRAS 1911). JRAS 1911,pp 177-179.
257. do. — The Date of the Rāmāyana JRAS 1915 pp 318-321  
 [This paper is an examination of the views of Jacobi on the Date of the Rāmāyana "On the whole, therefore, it seems to me that while the date before 500 B C cannot well be maintained, there is no reason to go below a date before 300 B C, for the kernel of the Rāmāyana Of the final date of the completion of the Rāmāyana with the First and the Seventh books nothing definite can be said except that the mention of the Yavanas and general probabilities suggest that the 2nd century BC saw most of the work complete as was also the case with the Mahābhārata"]
258. do. — Rāvapa's Lankā. Indian Review, 1914.  
 [The author traces Lankā to a hill near the Pendra station of the B. N. Ry, north-west of Bilaspur. His

subsequent researches have led him to change it to the Amarakantaka]

- 259 Kibe M. V.—Ravana's Laṅkā discovered A Paper submitted to the First Oriental Conference, Poona 1910

[The summary of the above paper is given in Vol I of the Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, p cxxvi]

260. do — Ravana's Laṅkā located in Central India. IHQ (1928) IV.694-702

["The object of this paper has been to prove that the place-names in the Rāmāyaṇa are not fictitious and even to day they can be identified with cities in existence It is claimed in this paper that the Lanka of Ravana was located on the now inaccessible peak of the Amarakantaka"] This paper was submitted to the XVII International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford, 1928]

261. do. — Further Light on Ravana's Laṅkā located in Central India, from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa ABI (1936) XVII. 371-384.

- 262 do — Inhabitants of the Country around Ravana's Laṅkā in Amarakantaka. F W Thomas Commemoration Volume, pp 144-146 Bombay, 1939.

263. do. — Cultural Decendents of Ravana of Laṅkā. P. V. Kane Commemoration Volume, pp 264-267 Poona, 1941

264. do. — (In Marathi) Which is the Laṅkā of Ravana ? (रावणाची लंका कोणती ?) VJV xlv. 373-382.



- 265 do. (In *Marathi*) Rāvana's Lanka. VJV. vlx1. 16 ff
- 266 do — Is the Uttara-Kānda of the Rāmāyana Unhistorical? JIH XX 28-34
- 267 do. — A Review of the "Rāmāyana and Lanka" by T Paramshiva Iyer ABI (1941) XXII 123-127
- 268 do. — (In *Marathi*) The whole of Uttara-Kānda is not interpolated (वाल्मीकिरामायणाचें उत्तरकांड सर्वच प्रक्षिप्त नव्हे) The *Sahyādī* (1938) Vol IV pp.532-535
- 269 Lesny' V.—Uber das Purānaartige Gepräge des Bālakānda ZDMG (1913) 67 497-500  
[ie on the Paurānic nature or character of the Bālakānda]
- 270 Maharastriya —(In *Marathi*) Thoughts on some problems in the Rāmāyana (रामायणातील काही शका व त्या-विषयी विचार.) VJV 56 105-116
271. Michelson Truman—Linguistic Archaisms of the Rāmāyana JAOS. 1904 25 89-145  
["My aim in this paper is to supplement B<sup>o</sup>thlingk's work I may here state that I have in general noted the archaisms of the Bombay recension, and that after bk III, usually only such archaisms as do not occur in bks I III or else phenomena of special interest have been inserted, moreover, in the case of archaisms such as गृह्य for गृहीत्वा wh occur repeatedly, my collections even for bks.I-III are

not exhaustive, it has been my aim not so much to gather numerically strong collections as to present a well digested account of all the archaisms"]

- 272 do — On some irregular uses of 'Me' and 'Te' in Epic Sanskrit and some related problems. JRAS 1911. pp 169-177.
273. Mishra D P — The Search for Lankā Mahakosal Historical Society's Papers Vol I  
[The note suggests that Lankā is to be located on that portion of the Bay of Bengal which washes the shores of the northern part of the present Andhra country, as then and only then can the description of the place in the Rāmāyana be appropriate]
274. Mojumdarshastri S N — A new version of the Rāmāyana. Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume Part I, pp 182-190 Pub by J. N. Samaddar, Patna. 1926-1928
- 275 Mokade G. B — (In *Marathi*) The Aboriginal names in the Rāmāyana VJV. 56 558-563  
[This is a translation of G Rāmadāsa's Paper in JBORS, March 1925, for which see below No 295]
276. Muir J — Verses from the Sarvadarśanasamgraha, Viṣṇu-purāṇa and Rāmāyana and the Cār-vākas. JRAS. 1862. p 299 f.
277. Mujumdar A K — The Rāmāyana a criticism. IA. XXXI, 351-353.
278. Narasimbachar D. L. — The Jain Rāmāyanas. IHQ. XV. 574-595.

[“The purpose of this paper is to investigate the origin and growth of the Jain Rāmāyanas, starting from the Vālmīki Rāmāyana which was already an accomplished fact about the 1st century B C” “To sum up it is clear that there are two schools of the Jain Rāmāyanas which differ greatly from each other, that of Vimalasūri is an adaptation of Vālmīki Rāmāyana, that of the Gunabhadra-school has no unitary source for it, that while one is artistic, the other is a drab story The Jain Rāmāyanas form an important branch of study in the history of the Rāmāyana”]

279. Narasimham D A — Vālmīki and his Epic Jou of the Kumbhakonam College, Lit Society, Nov 19-2.
280. Nilakantha Shastri K A — The Rāmāyana in Greater India JOR. 1932 VI 113-120
281. do Lanka Rāmalinga Reddi Com Vol. pp. 20-24.
282. Nihśreyasanande, Swami — The Culture of the Rāmāyana. The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. I, pp 77-99. Calcutta, 1937

[The paper deals with the following points (1) The prosperity of the kingdom, (2) Military equipment and efficiency, (3) Share of the public in State affairs, (4) Scope and importance of Education, (5) Royal Patronage, (6) Many sided nature of sacrifice, (7) Service rendered by the forest-dwellers, (8) The ideal of Dharma, (9) Vibhīšana; (10) Hanuman, (11) Vālī and Sugrīva, (12) Sanctity and possibilities of married life, (13) Sītā, (14) Rāma; (15) Conclusion. “Inner perfection issuing out in virtuous

action which overcomes evil and transforms the evil doer is the sage's main theme"]

- 283 Pargitar F E** — Geography of Rāma's Exile JRAS 1894. pp 231-264

["I propose in this paper to investigate Rāma's wanderings in exile and attempt to identify the topographical particulars introduced, using all the versions of the story " p 233]

- 284. Printz Wilhem**— Rāma and S'ambūka Zeitschrift Fur Indologie and Iranistik, Band 5 Heft 3.

[The writer of this article opposes the theory of Weber that S'ambūka-episode of the Rāmāyana refers to the settlement of the Christian Missionaries on the coast of Coromandale and traces the development of this episode in the Padma Purāna, Mbh, Kālidāsa's Raghuvams'a, Bhavabhūti's Uttarakāmarita and the Adhyātma Rāmāyana]

- 285 Przyluski Jean**— Epic Studies. I. Rājavams'a and Rāmāyana II. Sītās Birth IHQ. XV. 289-299.

- 286. Pusalkar A D** — Twenty-five years of Epic and Puranic Studies Progress of Indic Studies, 1917-1942 Pub by The Bhandarkar O R Institute, Poona, 1942 Rs 8

[In this scholarly article the author has succinctly surveyed 48 books and papers on or about the Rāmāyana Pp 132-138]

- 287. do.** — A Review of the Sundara kānda in the N. W. recension Bharatiya Vidyā, Vol. IV. pp. 118-119.

- 288 Raghavan V —Some Aspects of Lakṣmana's character Trirumalai Ś'ri Venkateśha' Journal
- 289 do —A Sketch of the Character of Lakṣmana. Bharata Dharma, Madras Dec 1931, Jan and Feb 1932
- 290 do. —A Sketch of the Character of Kausalyā. Bharata Dharma, Madras. 1932. Vol. X pp 30-35.
291. do. —The Infinite Excellences of Ś'ri Rāma or Rāmāyanamānasa The Vedanta Kesari, Madras. 1937-38. Pp. 218-222, 270-276.
292. do. — Vālmīki and Kālidāsa. pp.409-424 K. V Rangaswami Aiyangar Com. Vol. Madras, 1940
293. Raja C Kunhan— Ś'ri Rāma and the Raghuvamś'a Pp 356-361. Kane Com Vol. Poona, 1941

[In this paper Dr Raja seeks to prove with several arguments that (1) the original Raghuvamś'a as Kālidāsa wrote it ended with the first eight Cantos, (2) and that Kālidāsa did not know the Rāmāyana. "If on the basis of the Bharatavākya of Mālavikāgnimitra we assume Kālidāsa to be a contemporary of Agnimitra, it is certain that Agnimitra cannot be much later than Patañjali and as such Kālidāsa too is not much later than the great grammarian. Patañjali gives no hint of having known the R. He quotes from a large number of literary works that preceded him and it is surprising that if the R existed during his time, he should not have tried to explain a single un-Pāṇinian usage found in the R. Thus the R is not really the first Kāvya. That is only a vain title given to

the work by the poet <sup>whoever</sup> he is. Thus there is a likelihood that *Kaṇvāsa too did not know the Rāmāyana* ]

294. do. — A Review of the Sundara-Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana in the N W Recension. *Brahma Vidya : The Adyar Library Bulletin*, (1942), Vol. VI. 248-250.

295. Ramdas G.—Aboriginal Names in the Rāmāyana *JBORS* (1925), XI 41-53

[The author sees in some of the names mentioned in the Rāmāyana an affinity to the languages of the aboriginal tribes, and tries to identify the Śabarās, Rākṣasas and Nisādas of the Rāmāyana with the Mundaries For a *Maathi* translation of this Paper see no 275 above]

296. do. — The aboriginal tribes in the Rāmāyana *Man in India*. March-June, 1925.

- 297 do — Rāvana's Lanka *IHQ* IV. 339-346

[This paper criticises W H Vater's theory (*IHQ* II 345-350) that Rāvana's Lankā was situated on the equator Then the author tries to establish the identity of Lankā-dvīpa with Amradvīpa and of these two with Amarakantaka. Lankā was the name of the highland from which the two rivers, the Narmadā and the Mahānadī, rise, and it was the chief abode of Rāvana ]

298. do. — Rāvana and his tribes *IHQ*. V. 281-299; VI. 285-289, 544-

[The paper supports the location of Lankā on the Amarakantaka hills round which lies the region known as Gondavana or the land of Gonds, Kuis, Khonds or Koyas

"Thus from the statements contained in the epic about the characteristics of the Raksasa clan, it is shown how these customs are followed now by the Kui tribes now living in the jungles of the Eastern Ghats. That the Rāksasas spoke a language allied to the Dravidian tongues and had followed some of the customs which have now almost disappeared can be shown by the study of some of the words which are found used to designate the Rāksasas and their lord]

299. Rangaswami K. V.—The North-Western Recension of Vālmīkī Rāmāyana. QJMS XXXII 423-426

[This is simply a detailed review of the Sundara-kānda in the N. W. Recension, ed. by Vishva-bandhu Shastri]

300. Ray M. N.—Food and Drink in the Rāmāyana Age. Sar. Bha. Stud. (1925). Vol. IV. 109-123

301. do.—An Estimate of the Civilization of the Vānaras as depicted in the Rāmāyana. Sar. Bha. Stud. (1926). Vol. V. 19-73.

302. do.—Index to the Proper Names in the Rāmāyana (based on the Bombay and Calcutta Editions). Sar. Bha. Stud. (1926 ff.) Vol. V. 163-193, VI. 45-108, VII. 109-140, VIII. 97-152, IX. Sec. 11. 19-84 (the last word is यूपाक्ष)

[From Bibliographical notes in IHQ. IV no. 4 it appears that these papers are now available in a book form]

303. Raykrishnadas—(In Hindi) Vālmīkī and his Poem. Rāmāyana. (वाल्मीकि और उनकी काव्य रामायण) NPP 1998 Samvat, pp.1-18.

- 304 Ronkel Ph S. Van—The Rāmāyana in Malay(a), AO (1929) Vol. VII. pt. IV.
- 305 Sengupta P C.—Date of Composition of the Rāmāyana. JDL. (Cal Uni) XIX no 3 pp. 1-19.  
 [The Paper is divided into following sections (1) Introduction, (2) Internal Historical Evidence, (3) Astrological references in the Rāmāyana, (4) Astronomical references and the date of 'Composition' of the Rāmāyana, (5) Beginning of the Rainy season in the Rāmāyana, (6) Conclusion "It seems almost certain that the date of 'Composition' of the Rāmāyana (ie the R in its present form) is approximately 498 A D The other evidences quoted above also seem to indicate that our poet belonged to the time which preceded the time of Āryabhata Politically this period synchronises with the brilliant Gupta age of Indian history" Kālidāsa is incidently assigned to about 537 A D]
- 306 Sharma Har Dutt—Exact position of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā. PO. VI 109-113.
307. Sharma, Pandit L. P. Pandeya—Rāmāyana of Vālmīki mentions two Kos'alas IHQ. III 68-72.
308. Shastri, H. Aiyaswami — References to ancient stories in the Rāmāyana JOR. (1930) IV pp 101-107.
309. Shastri, T. R. Ramakrishna—Vālmīki, his mind and Art JOR (1938) XII. part 3
310. Shastri, K Ramaswami—Coronation Mystery in the Rāmāyana.



[A paper on the above subject was submitted to the VII All India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1933]

311. Shastri, K. S Ramaswami—The Rāmāyana as a guide to New World Order JOR (1931) V 368 ff
- 312 Shastri, M Narayan— On the Indian Epics IA XXIX 8-27

[The object of this paper is to criticise Prof A Weber's views on the Rāmāyana and the Mbh "In our view, of the Rāmāyana and the Mbh, the former is of a remoter antiquity than the latter"]

313. Shastri P P. S. — The Rāmāyana Pp 321-323, Krishnaswami Aiyangar Com Vol., Madras, 1936

314. do — Commentaries of the Rāmāyana in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries. ABI. XXIII (Sil. Jub. Vol. 1942) pp 413-414

315. Shivaramamurti C — (In *Sanskrit*) The Sculpture in the Rāmāyana. (श्रीमद्रामायणे शिल्पम् ।) JOR. X. pt. 1.

[This paper describes the arts and crafts in the Rāmāyana]

316. do — Some Architectural Passages in the Rāmāyana JOR. XIII. 87-92.

[The paper points out various passages from Vālmiki-Rāmāyana describing the various well-known sculptures]

317. Smith V. A.— An Italian story resembling the Rāmāyana I.A VII. 202-203.

318. Sukthankar V. S.— The Nala-episode and the Rāma-

- yaṇa pp 294-304, F W. Thomas, Com. Vol Bombay, 1939.
319. do — The Rāma-episode and the Rāmāyana pp 472-488, Kane Com Vol., Poona. 1941.
- 320 Tatacharya N S. Rajagopala— (In *Sanskrit*) Vālmīki and Politics, (वाल्मीकि नीतिशास्त्र च १). JVOI. II. 273-89.
321. Telang K T — Answer to the theory that Vālmīki derived the matter of his epic from the Iliad of Homer. IA (1872) pp 143-147, (1873) III 123ff.
322. Tessitori L D — Il Rāmācaritamānasa e il Rāmāyana. Societa Asiatic Italiana, Giornale etc. Vol 24. pp. 99-164 1912  
[i.e The Rāmācaritamānasa and the Rāmāyana a Comparative study ]
323. Thomas F. W.—A Rāmāyana story in Tibetan from Chinese Turkestan. Pp 193-212. Indian Studies (or Lanmann Com Vol). 1929.  
[“F W Thomas has written at length on some Tibetan versions of the Rāmāyana-story Three Mss of this story were discovered in Chinese Turkestan They have been assigned to the period between 700 and 900 A D As the doctor states ‘they are mutually independent’ There are some variations of names and incidents in all the three documents Jain influence is clearly to be seen in these stories”—D L Nahar. IHQ IV 594 ]
324. Utgikar N. B —The story of the Das’aratha Jātaka and of the Rāmāyana. JRAS., 1924, 203-211.

[The paper raises the following questions (1) Does the Daśaratha Jātaka present an older form of the Rāmā-story, and (2) is the Jātaka really older than the Rāmā-yana? and answers them in the negative "Any contention, therefore, that the Pāli (Jātaka) verses are more original and served as model to Vālmiki must be regarded as *Not proven* ]

- 325. Vāder V. H.**—Situation of Rāvana's Lankā on the Equator. IHQ. II. 345-51

[The Malaya Dvīpa or Maldives is the site of the Rakṣasa Dvīpa of Rāvana with its Capital Lankā-purī]

- 326.** do—situation of Rāvana's Lankā on the Equator. QJMS. XVII. 17-22.

[The writer gives evidence to show that Ceylon and Lankā Island were not the same, nor was Lankā city situated in Ceylon In this paper we get a reference to the fact that Prof Jacobi had located Lankā somewhere in Assam "Prof Jacobi of Bonn admitted that this theory (viz that of Kibe, locating Lankā on the peak of the Amalakantaka mountain) was superior to his, as regards the location of Lankā somewhere in Assam The Malaya Dvīpa or Maldives is the site of the Rākṣasa Dvīpa of Rāvana with its capital Lankā-purī]

- 327.** do —(In *Marathi*) Situation of Rāvana's Lankā. (रावणाची लंका कोठे होती?) CJ. (1923). Vol 14 pp 1-3.

- 328. Vagale S. S.**—(In *Marathi*) The Vānara army of Śrī Rāma (श्रीरामाचें वानरसैन्य). VJV. 45.333-340.

- 329. Varadacharya T. A.** (In *Sanskrit*) The Rāmāyana, and the Śākuntala. (रामायण अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलं च ।) JVOL. II.303

- 330 Vaidya C V (In *Marathi*) Kiskindhā. VJV. 49.7-8
331. do — (In *Marathi*) The Vānaras in the Rāmāyana and Lanka (रामायणातील वानर व लंका) VJV. 45. 482-489.
332. Varma Dharendra — Evolution of the Myth of Ahalyā Maitreyī Pp 427-433, Jha. Com. Vol., Poona 1937.
- [The author shows that Ahalyā-myth is not historical, but is based on mythological or religious allegory It begins with Indra and ultimately merges into the greatness of Rāma, serving as a fine specimen showing how it has been adapted by devotees of Viṣṇu to serve their own purpose]
332. Venkataraman T. K — The Rākṣasas. Pp. 187-193, K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Com. Vol, Madras 1940
333. Weber A.—Rāmāyana IA. IV. 247-249
334. do—A Jain legend of Rāvana from the Śatru-ñjayamāhātmya. IA XXX. 239 ff
335. Zutshi C N — Aspects of Aryan Civilization as depicted in the Rāmāyana. A paper submitted to the IV All India Oriental Conference.

[The summary of the paper appears on pp 20-26 of Vol I of the Proceedings of the Conference from which the following extract is taken "There is not a single phase of human life which is not to be found reflected and not a single corresponding theory which is not to be found anticipated in the Rāmāyana. It is an authentic record

of the various aspects of Aryan Civilization—the ethical, the theological, the political and economic—evolved at the early period of history ”]

## Appendix I

[The following information is given here as it was collected too late for its inclusion at the proper place in the body of the book ]

### Books

- 336. Aiyangar C Duraiswami**—An Esoteric Study of the Rāmāyana. Pub. by Sri Narayana Dossjee Varu, Golden Power Press, Tirupati, 1935 Price 0-4 0.
- 337. Madhaviah A.**—The Story of the Rāmāyana. Pp.240. The Indian Publishing House, Ltd., Madras Revised Edition, 1924.
- 338. Puri Satyanand and Charsen Sarahiram**—Rāmākīrti (Rāmakiṇ): The Thai version of the Rāmāyana Translated into Sanskrit Birla Oriental Series, Bangkok, 1940.
- 339. The Rāmāyana Diary.** The Madras Sanskrit Academy, Madras, 1235  
[365 selections from the Rāmāyana ]

### Papers

- 340. Adhikari N S.**—Where was Lankā ? The *Hindu* Illustrated Weekly, June 15, 1930

[The paper is an argument for identifying Lankā with Sumatīa Also see above no.191]

- 341 Bailey H W —On Rāmāyana and Rāma in Khota-  
nese BSOS X. 365ff; 559ff. Cf. no. 198.
342. Desai P S —(In *Marathi*) The Importance of the  
Rāmāyana (रामायणाचें महत्त्व). The *Purusārtha* 14,  
730 733.
- 343 Divekar Mahadeva Shastri—(In *Marathi*) The vow  
of Monogamy of S'rī Rāmacandara (श्रीरामचंद्राचे  
एकपत्नीव्रत). The *Purusārtha* (1937-8) 14. 724-729
344. do —(In *Marathi*) The Chastity of Sītā.  
(सीतादेवीचें पातिव्रत्य). The *Purusārtha* 14 869 878.
345. Ibbetson Benzil—A story of Vālmiki IA. (1895)  
XXIV. 220.
346. Joshi G. M.—(In *Marathi*) Thoughts on the Rāmā-  
yana The *Purusārtha* 14.69-74, 250-255.
- 347 Narayanan V.—The Reign of Law in the Rāmāyana.  
The *Triveni* (1937) IX. 12.
- 348 Negelein Julius V.—Outline of the Rāma-Sītā legend.  
in the Veda (?) WZKM (1902) 16 226ff.  
[The author of this paper thinks that he is able to dis-  
cover in the Veda the outline of the Rāma Sītā legend  
But Winternitz IL Vol I, calls this 'fantastic expositions'.]
349. Pandit V. D.—(In *Marathi*) The Fire Missils in the  
Rāmāyana, (श्रीवाल्मीकिरामायणातील अग्न्यस्त्रें). The *Puru-  
sārtha* (1936-37) 13.513-522, 1089-1096.

350. do. —(In *Marathi*) The Aryan Civilization in Rāmāyana (रामायणकालीन आर्यसंस्कृति) The *Purusārtha* Vol. 17 Pp.266-375.
351. do —(In *Marathi*) The Rākṣasas and the Vānaras in the Rāmāyana (रामायणकालीन राक्षस व वानर) The *Purusārtha* 17.327-334
352. do. —(In *Marathi*) The Civilization of the Vānaras (वानरांची संस्कृति). The *Purusārtha* 17 356-362.
- 353 do. —(In *Marathi*) The Rākṣasas and the Vānaras (राक्षस व वानर) The *Purusārtha* 17 427-436
354. do —(In *Marathi*) S'rī Rāma and Shīvajī (श्रीरामचंद्र आणि शिवाजी) The *Purusārtha* 17 503-504
355. do. —(In *Marathi*) The Vānaras and the Raksasas were human beings (वानर व राक्षस यांची मनुष्यत्वसिद्धि) The *Purusārtha* 17. 485-500
356. do —(In *Marathi*) The Rākṣasas were human beings (राक्षसांची मनुष्यत्वसिद्धि). The *Purusārtha* 17. 563-570
357. do —(In *Marathi*) The Plot of the Rākṣasas. (राक्षसांचे गूढ कारस्थान). The *Purusārtha* 17. 603-614.
358. Raghavan V.—The Songs of the Kokil The *Suddha Dharma*, Mylapore, Madras, 1934-1938.  
[The English translation of selections of passages of general import from the Rāmāyana. These appeared serially under the pen name Rāmadāsa.]
359. Roussel M. A.—Aberaism's in the Rāmāyana (?).

J.A. 1910 s 10 t xv. pp. 1ff

360. Satavalekar S. D'—(In *Marathi*) The Story of Ahalyā (अहल्याची कथा). The *Purusārtha* 17. 349-355, 409-422, 515-528.

[The paper traces the origin and the modifications of the story of Ahalyā in the Vedas and other books The story of Ahalyā in the Rāmāyana, pp 515 518]

361. Satavalekar V S —(In *Marathi*) Who were the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas ? (किष्किंशेतील वानर व लकें-  
तील राक्षस हे कोण असावे ?). The *Purusārtha* 15. 537-542.

[This is a translation of K S Ramaswami Shastri's paper in *Indian Culture* V 193-197 See no 363 below]

362. Schoebel Charles—Le Rāmāyana . au point de vue Religieux, Philosophique et moral. Annals du Muse'e Guimet Tome Treizieme. Paris 1888

[The Rāmāyana from the view-point of Religion, Philosophy and Morality]

363. Shastri K. S. Ramaswami—The Aryan Colonies of Kīṣkīndhā and Lankā. IC. V. 193-197.

["It is clear that the Vānaras must have been an Aryan Colony which settled down in South India and were cut off from their brothers who were living in Northern India ...The Rākṣasas also were Aryan immigrants to the South ...The Rāmāyana is a picture of the home of Aryan culture pulling up the stagnant life of an Aryan Colony (Vānaras) and pulling down a misshapen and dissolute, though strong and prosperous, Aryan colony (Rākṣasas) The poet's aim was to show to the world an ideal Aryan polity which



could be 'true to the kindred points of heaven and home' ".]

- 364.** A Little-known Persian version of the Rāmāyana.  
The Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Dn
- 365.** On archaisms in the language of the Rāmāyana.  
JAP 34 pp. xl f.
- 366.** A popular legend about Valmīkī (by R. C Temple  
in P.N & Q) IA. XXV 112

## Appendix II

### EXTRACTS

#### I. The Epic Language

The opinion about the age of the epic depends on the view which one has formed about the epic language. We must, therefore, enter into this point in more detail. As per the result of our introductory investigation about the different recensions, we may restrict ourselves here to C. (i e. Bombay Recension). The linguistic deviations of the Bombay edition from the classical Sanskrit are almost the same as in the Mahābhārata they are the peculiarities of the so called epic (ārsa) Sanskrit. Now the question arises, whether the epic Sanskrit is older or later than Pāṇini. For the first alternative it can be asserted that a poet like Vālmiki could not have left unnoticed the rules of grammar if the same might have already attained authoritative value (currency). For the second alternative one can emphasise with equal justice that Pāṇini and other grammarians could not have left unnoticed in their grammatical researches so well-known a work as the Rāmāyana if, that is to say, it would have been there at that time. As the epic language decidedly stands on a later stage of evolution than that taught by Pāṇini, one is inclined, therefore, to give preference to the second alternative. However, the following is to be noted in this connection. Granted that Vālmiki is later than Pāṇini, yet thereby is it not to be conceded that the epic language is later than Pāṇini. Because although Vālmiki's influence might have brought about the fixing of the epic language in the form known to us, yet the epic

poem is positively older than Pāṇini, and thereby also an epic language out of which the one lying before us has evolved. Because it is not to be assumed that the epic bards have made use of the Brahmanical language in earlier times and have left off (desisted) from the purity of the language at the golden age of the epic poetry. Now as Pāṇini nowhere informs about the deviations of the epic language, although he specifies the formation of proper names of the epic saga, so we must conclude that he did not wish to include the epic language in the sphere of his investigations. Probably the rank of the epic songsters (Kus'ilava) was so little heeded that their language also could not be considered as pure and decisive. According to Patañjali (on Pāṇini, VI. 3. 109) the language of the *S'istas* in the Āryāvarta was decisive (authoritative), i.e. (Bhandarkar, Wilson Lectures, Art. xvi, page 91) "Those Brahmins in this country of the Āryas who do not store up riches (lit who keep only so much grain as is contained in a jar) who are not greedy, who do good disinterestedly and who, without any effort, are conversant with a certain kind of knowledge are the worshipful *S'istas*."

Bhandarkar observes further: "Here then we have the closest possible evidence that Sanskrit was the vernacular of holy or respectable Brāhmanas of the Āryāvarta or Northern India who could speak the language correctly without the study of grammar." He then proceeds. "And this is what you may say even with regard to the modern vernaculars. Who is that speaks good or correct Marathi? Of course, Brahmins of culture. The language of the other classes is not correct Marathi. The word *s'ista* may be translated by a man of education and culture; and this

education or culture has, since remote times, been almost confined to Brahmans." And even the character of the language, taught by Pāṇini, agrees with this. According to Dr. Bruno Liebich, Pāṇini, p 47 "the Sanskrit which Pāṇini teaches is syntactically so good as identical with the language of the *Brāhmanas* and the *Sūtras*. In formal relation it distinguishes itself from the former by the absence of a few antiquated forms, noted by him as Vedic, while from the latter by means of the non-recognition of a few loose forms, as they are accustomed to occur in that literature besides the strict necessities of the grammar "

The notice of Patañjali and the result of the researches of Liebich rely mutually (depend upon each other) Because if the language taught by Pāṇini was spoken by the *s'istas*, then it must have had the greatest similarity with the language of the *Brāhmanas* and the *Sūtras*, because the *s'istās* were the traditional deliverers of this literature, and naturally in their language, they must have seen the highest norm of their language. Evidently besides the language of the *s'istas* there appeared moreover several varieties of Sanskrit in early times in other spheres of the society which were of lesser purity and of various excellence according to the education of the speaker. A proof of this inferior Sanskrit we have in the language of the epic

The distinction between the grammatical Sanskrit (or the language of the *s'istas*) and the vulgar Sanskrit is often referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa. When Hanumat delivers to Rāma the message of Sugrīva in IV. 3, Rāma is quite surprised at the purity of his language :

नाऽनृग्वेदविनीतस्य नाऽयजुर्वेदधारिणः ।

नाऽसामवेदविदुषः शक्यं एवं विभाषितुम् ॥ २८ ॥

नूनं व्याकरणं कृत्स्नं अनेन बहुधा श्रुतं ।

बहु व्याहरताऽनेन न किञ्चिदपशाब्दितम् ॥ २९ ॥

When Hanumat meets Sita in Lankā, he reflects as to how he should speak to her (V.30)

वाचं चोदाहरिष्यामि मानुषीमिह संस्कृताम् ।

यदि वाचं प्रदास्यामि द्विजातिरिव संस्कृताम् ॥

रावणं मन्यमाना मां सीता भीता भविष्यति ।

अवश्यमेव वक्तव्यं मानुषं वाक्यमर्थवत् ॥

The *mānūsa* is emphasised in contrast to the speaking monkey-form. On the other hand, the words *dvijātir iva* mean as much as the *śiṣṭas* of Patañjali. Most clearly it is to be seen from the first quotation in which Hanumat's knowledge of the Veda and grammar is inferred as the reason for his pure language. So also the language of other sages distinguishes itself by its correctness, in II 91 22 it is said. —

शिक्षास्वरसमायुक्तं सुव्रतश्चाब्रवीन्मुनिः ।

Other places, in which the language is called as Sanskrit, have been collected by Muir, OST, II, p 159. Nowhere, in contrast, the word *prākṛta* is used of the language, although there is often the mention of *prākṛta jana* (ordinary, everyday men).

In my opinion an objective consideration of the above passages must lead to the following view about the idioms which have been in the mind of the poet in the composition to the same. The knowers of the Vedas and students of grammar spoke a purer language than the rest, yet, the latter was not a distinct speech. The distinction consisted only in the degree of purity (न किञ्चिदपशाब्दितम् ।) The pure or purified language was called Sanskrit. The relation corresponded strictly to that

treated by Patañjali between the language of the *śāstras* and the rest.

If one maintains this, then it must be conceded that the question whether Pāṇini has lived before Vālmīki or vice versa cannot be decided. Now if our view is correct, that the language of the epic was fixed by the work of Vālmīki in the widest sense, and when one further takes into consideration that the Rāmāyaṇa is composed in Sanskrit, while at Ashoka's time (probably already at Buddha's time) Prakrit was the language in that part of India in which one must have addressed to the majority of the people, then this confirms also the view obtained by us in another way that Vālmīki must have lived very early, at any rate long before Ashoka. Because the epic language must have come into existence at a time when the Sanskrit was yet spoken in the wider circles and understood.

This argument can also be used in yet another way to make the great antiquity of the epic probable. The polite literature of the classical period dates from a time, when Sanskrit was already no longer a living language. If it is nevertheless composed in Sanskrit, then there must have been old works of polite literature which were composed at the time of yet "living" Sanskrit. Because a "dead" language is not used for a species of literature, to which it had not made itself suited during its "life". Now when the epics, which indeed lie before the classical Sanskrit poetry, had not originated at the time of the "living" Sanskrit they would hover to a certain extent in the air. It cannot be objected that the old epic literature is lost and that before us has been composed at the time of the dead Sanskrit. Because everywhere masterpieces have been preserved, thus also in the epic literature, according to

that assumption, they must have been composed at a time in Sanskrit when the language of the Ashokan inscriptions was the popular idiom. This, however, is not at all probable, because an epic which makes claim to popularity must not have been composed in a dead language but in a language which is popular or which is at least understood in the largest circles. Now it has been often assumed that the models of the classical Sanskrit literature were borrowed from the preceding Prakrit literature. Partly, it may apply to the folklore (story-literature), but for the erotic poetry it is to me very doubtful, in spite of Hāla, and for the other classical Sanskrit literature this view lacks every foundation. Thus we must stick to the natural hypothesis that the epic period is the predecessor and the basis of the classical literature.

The classical Sanskrit poetry has proceeded from the epic language, and indeed by accurate following of the grammar on the part of the learned poet. In other respects there is a very great similarity between the epic and classical Sanskrit. But, however much the poets acknowledged Pāṇini as the judge on the purity of language, they have not deviated on one point from the usage of the epic, nevertheless. That is to say, they use the Perfect, like the epic, simply as narrating time, without the limitation which Pāṇini lays down (परोक्षे लिट्). This circumstance is all the more significant as the classical prose-writers Dandin and Bāṇa use the Perfect only there where it is allowed by Pāṇini. The source of the classical prose is thus probably different from the source of the classical poetry. The source of the latter was evidently the epic, as the epic poets were the predecessors of the classical poets. If a thorough student of Pāṇini would

once collect the deviation in classical Sanskrit of Kālidāsa from the grammar of Pāṇini, it will probably turn out that the most deviations also already exist in the epic language.

Finally we also consider the relation of the epic language with the Pali as the oldest representative of the literary Prakrit dialect. Naturally we must leave aside in this the phonetic forms. But with respect to the use of forms a considerable difference is visible. That is to say, in Pali the proper narrative time is Imperfect and Aorist whose forms have been so often mixed up that one cannot establish any longer special canons, although the grammarians have brought them about and have reached a deceptive perfection of the inflection. One, however, perceives from the state of affairs lying before that in the ancient language from which Pali sprang, the Aorist must have been in very frequent use, because it has such a great part in the formation of the Preterite. On the other hand the Perfect appears to have been used extremely little, because its use in Pali is very restricted. Almost the opposite state prevails in the epic Sanskrit. In it the Perfect is relatively as much frequent as the Aorist, barring a few verbs, is rare. From this we might infer that the epic Sanskrit and the original Pali were two different current of language which indeed flow parallel to one another, distinctly clearly however, although they might have come in the last resort from the same source.

[Translated by Prof. R. D. Vadekar, M.A., from H. Jacobi,  
Das Rāmāyana, pp 112-119]



## 2 The Poetic Art

Everyone, who has studied the epic and classical poetry to a certain extent, knows the great difference in their characters, but it would be difficult to characterise the same with precise words. If we say, that the epic poet looks more to the matter and the classical poet to the form, that to the first, what he says matters most, while to the latter, how he says it, this is true in the most general way. The classical poet no doubt adds a great many artificial means (अलंकार), which enhance the beauty of the poem, but even the epic poet is not stingy in the use of the most important of them, viz. the *Comparison* in its various forms. If we apply the standard of the German Epic to the Rāmāyana, then it appears even superfluous in poetic embellishments. But then the Indians also have not denied the inner relationship of Vālmiki's poetic art with that of the महाकवि, as he is indeed called by them as आदिकवि. In fact, I believe that classical poetry has gradually developed in conjunction with the poetic art which was perfected by *Vālmikides*, if I may be allowed to designate by the name (formed after the analogy of the *Homerides*), those who have supplemented and enhanced the poem of Vālmiki till it attained the present form. To establish my view, I shall cite from the Rāmāyana irrespective of their genuineness or non-genuineness, some passages which prove a further advanced development of the अलंकार, an undeniable liking for the same which show the development in the taste, in the preliminary stage, prevailing in the classical poetry.

First of all, I shall refer to the उपमा. In II.114 the mourning city of Ayodhyā is described, this takes place

in 16 stanzas, every one of which contains a comparison of the city, deprived of its splendour. Similar is the case in V 19 where the sad appearance of Sitā in imprisonment is described with 29 Comparisons. That is no longer a naïve use of the artificial form in the service of the story, but a pleasure in the form as such.

Closely related to the *Upamā* is the Metaphor (*Rūpakam*) which in its primitive form as they show in the examples cited in the note (1e काव्यादर्श II.66 : 'उपमैव तिरोभूतभेदा रूपकमुच्यते । यथा बाहुलता पाणिपद्म चरणपल्लवः ॥') belong to the most original of the artificial means of Indian poesy. And so we find it, as every one knows, sufficiently often in the epic poetry. In the *Rāmāyana*, however, it is not rarely used even with greater art in detailed representations (images). A few examples will show how near Vālmiki and his followers had come to the artificiality of later poesy.

(1) विषादनकाध्युषिते परित्रासोर्मिमालिनि ।

किं मां न त्रायसे मग्नां विपुले शोकसागरे ॥ III 21.12.

(2) मन्थराप्रभवस्तीव्रः कैकेयीग्राहसंकुलः ।

वरदानमयोऽक्षोभ्योऽमज्जयच्छोकसागर ॥ II 77.13.

The same idea continued further :

रामशोकमहावेगः सीताविरहपारगः ।

श्वसितोर्मिमहावर्तो बाष्पफेनजलाविलः ॥

बाहुविक्षेपमीनोऽसौ विक्रन्दितमहास्वनः ।

प्रकीर्णकेशशैवालः कैकेयीवडवामुखः ॥

ममाश्रुवेगप्रभवः कुब्जावाक्यमहाग्रहः ।

वरवेलो नृशंसाया रामप्रवाजनायतः ॥

यस्मिन् बत निमग्नोऽहं कौसल्ये राघवं विना ।

दुस्तरो जीवता देवि ममायं शोकसागरः ॥ II.59 28-31.

An example of a *Rūpaka*, as how it should not be, is afforded by the following elaboration of a poetaster :

ध्याननिर्दरशैलेन विनिःश्वसितधातुना ।

दैन्यपादपसंघेन शोकायासाधिशृंगिणा ॥

प्रमोहानन्तसत्त्वेन संपातौषधिवेणुना ।

आक्रान्तो दुःखशैलेन मज्जता कैकयस्सुतः ॥ II 85 19-20.

The image of the ocean, which we had above, returns often, moreover, thus .

शक्तितोमरमीनं च विनिकीर्णान्त्रशैवलम् ॥

गजकच्छपसंवाधमश्वमण्डूकसंकुलम् ॥

रुद्रादित्यमहाग्राह मरुद्वसुमहोरगम् ।

रथाश्वगजतोयौघं पदाति पुलिनं महत् ॥

अनेन हि समासाद्य देवानां बलसागरम् । etc. VI 7 20ff.

Further in V. 57 2ff. "

स चन्द्रकुमुदं रम्यं सार्ककारण्डवं शुभम् ।

तिष्यश्रवणकादम्बमभ्रशैवालशाद्वलम् ॥

पुनर्वसुमहामीनं लोहिताङ्गमहाग्रहम् ।

ऐरावतमहाद्वीपं स्वातीहंसविलासितम् ॥

वातसंघातजालोर्मिं चंद्रांशुशिशिरांबुमत् ।

हनूमानपरिश्रान्तः पुप्लुवे गगनार्णवम् ॥

Similar is the picture of a river :

हतवीरौघवप्रां तु भग्नयुधमहाद्रुमाम् ।

शोषणितौघमहातोयां यमसामरगाग्निनीम् ॥

यकृत्प्लीहमहापङ्कां विनिकीर्णान्त्रशैवलाम् ।

भिन्नकायशिरोमीनामङ्गावयवशाद्वलाम् ॥

गृध्रहंसगणाकीर्णी कङ्कसारससेविताम् ।

भेदफेनसमाकीर्णीमार्तस्तनितनिःस्वनाम् ॥

तां कापुरुषदुस्तारां युद्धभूमिमयी नदीम् । etc VI.58 29ff..

Somewhat different is VI.93 11 :

मातङ्गरथकूलाश्च शरमत्स्यां ध्वजद्रुमाः ।

शरीरसंघाटवहाः प्रसस्रुः शोणितापगाः ॥

The picture of a lake is in VI 95 15 .

व्याकोशपद्मवक्त्राणि पद्मकेसरवर्चसाम् ।

अद्य यूथतटाकानि गजवत् प्रमभाम्यहम् ॥

Not quite happy is VI 24 42f

मम चापमयी वीणां शरकोणैः प्रवादिताम् ।

ज्याशब्दतुमुलां घोराभार्तगीतमहास्वनाम् ॥

नाराचतलसन्नादां नदीमहितवाहिनीम् ।

अवगाह्य महारङ्गं वादयिष्याम्यहं रणे ॥

The comparison of Lanka with a woman occurs twice :-

वप्रप्राकारजघनां विपुलांबुवनांवरात् ।

शतघ्नीशूलकेशान्तामट्टालकावतंसकाम् ॥ V.2.21.

तां रत्नवसनोपेतां गोष्ठागारावतंसकाम् ।

यन्त्रागारस्तनीमृद्धां प्रमदामिव भूषिताम् ॥ V 3.18.

Finally a few more images suited to Rāma :

राक्षसेन्द्रमहासर्पान् स रामगरुडो महान् ।

उद्धरिष्यति वेगेन वैनतेय इवोरगान् ॥ V.21 27.

शरजालांशुमान् शूरः कपे रामदिवाकरः ।

शत्रुरक्षोमयं तोयमुपशोषं नयिष्यति ॥ V 37.18.

शरीरनाभिसत्त्वार्चिः शरारं नेमिकर्मुकम् ।

ज्याघोषतलनिर्घोषं तेजोबुद्धिगुणप्रभम् ॥

दिव्यास्त्रगुणपर्यन्तं निघ्नन्तं युधि राक्षसान् ।

ददृशू रामचक्रं तत् कालचक्रमिव प्रजाः ॥ VI 93,28 f.

रामवृक्षं रणे हन्मि सीतापुष्पफलप्रदम् ।

प्रशाखा यस्य सुग्रीवो जाम्बवान् कुमुदो नलः ॥

etc. VI.99.4.

The cited examples will have sufficiently shown in what direction the evolution of the poesy pressed forward. Many of the above verses may have been composed by the epigonic poets, probably, however, the models go back to Vālmiki who, like a truly great poet, can be called a pioneer who opens out new roads for the art. Even other poetic figures beside the *Rūpaka* appear occasionally already in the *Rāmāyana*, which one meets often later in the court-poetry. So we have in VI. 108 21 a *Sahokti*.

तस्य हस्ताद्धतस्याऽऽशु कर्मुकं चाऽपि सायकम् ।

निपपात सह प्राणैर्भ्रश्यमानस्य जीवितात् ॥

Above we have already cited the stanza :

सागरं चाम्बरप्रख्यमम्बरं सागरोपमम् ।

रामरावणयोर्युद्धं रामरावणयोरिव ॥ VI 107.21,

which contains an *Upameyopamā* with *Ananvaya*. The first half also occurs in the following description of the ocean :

सागरं चाम्बरप्रख्यमम्बरं सागरोपमम् ।

सागरं चाम्बरं चेति निर्विशेषमदृश्यत ॥

सम्पृक्तं नभसाप्यम्भः सम्पृक्तं च नभोऽम्भसा ।

तादृश्रूपे स्म दृश्येते तारावत्नसमाकुले ॥ VI.4.115-116.

A complicated *Utpreksā* occurs in V.20.13 :

त्वां कृत्वोपरतो मन्ये रूपकर्ता स विश्वकृत् ।  
न हि रूपोपमा ह्यन्या तवास्ति शुभदर्शने ॥

An *Ekāvalī* exists in V.7 9

मही कृता पर्वतराजिपूर्णा शैलाः कृता वृक्षवितानपूर्णाः ।  
वृक्षाः कृताः पुष्पवितानपूर्णाः पुष्पं कृतं केसरपत्रपूर्णम् ॥

Finally a remarkable *S'loka* in IV.30 45 may be referred to which contains a *Samāsoktī* Although it stands among *Tristubh* stanzas yet it receives a certain attestation through the commentaries of Govindarāja and Rāmavarman It runs

चञ्चच्चन्द्रकरस्पर्शहर्षोन्मीलिततारका ।  
अहो रागवती संभ्या जहाति स्वयमम्बरम् ॥

But not only in the poetic figures of speech, but also in the selection of and the kind of descriptions of certain objects, the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears as a precursor of the later court-poetry. The descriptions of the Rainy-season and Autumn in IV 21, of the Winter in III.16, of the Citrakūṭa in II.94, of the Mandākinī in II. 95 and such others are partly already in the taste of the later times. The Fifth Book is the richest in such descriptions, which might have received, therefore, its name the Sundara-kāṇḍa. Most of the descriptions do not probably belong to the original poem; undoubtedly this is the case with the portions in *Tristubh* and *Jagatī* stanzas. In these one meets even the earlier stages of the later *Yamakas*; e g. V. 5. 3-4.

या भाति लक्ष्मीर्भुवि मन्दरस्था यथा प्रदेशेषु च सागरस्था ।  
च पुष्करस्था रराज सा चारुनिशाकरस्था ॥

हंसो यथा राजतपञ्जरस्थः सिंहो यथा मन्दरकन्दरस्थः ।  
वीरो यथा गर्वितकुञ्जरस्थश्चन्द्रोऽपि बभ्राज तथाम्बरस्थः ॥

It is true that many *Yamakas* in other metres are less good, in as much as they are formed by the same word or a perfect conformity of the syllables is not achieved. In the latter case we have at times genuine rhymes, e.g. in the same place, stanzas 13 and 14 run—

ददर्श कान्ताश्च समालभन्त्यः तथाऽपरास्तत्र पुनः स्वपन्त्यः ।  
सुरूपवक्त्राश्च तथा हसन्त्यः क्रुद्धाः पराश्चाऽपि विनिश्वसन्त्यः ॥  
महागजैश्चापिऽ तथा नदाद्भिः सुपूजितैश्चाऽपि तथा सुसाद्भिः ।  
रराज वीरैश्च विनिश्वसद्भिः हृदा भुजैर्गैरिव निश्वसद्भिः ॥

The entire 5th and 7th Cantos of the Fifth Book have been composed in this form; individual examples also exist in Canto 28 of the IV Book

The style of this portion in *Tristubh* and *Jagati* reminds one of the *Buddhacarita* of which the 1st Sarga has been recorded about in *Journal Asiatique* XIX. 211 ff; nevertheless As'vaghosa's stanzas are more polished as is to be expected in the more developed court-poetry. Respecting the *Yamaka* one may compare stzs 14-16 with similar ones in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The similarity strikes us but also the greater perfection of form in the *Buddhacarita*. I cite the stanzas concerned.

उदारसंख्यैः सचिवैरसंख्यैः कृताग्रभावः स उदग्रभावः ।  
शशी यथाऽभैरकृतान्यथामैः शाक्येन्द्रराजः सुतरां रराज  
तस्याऽतिशोभाविस्तृतातिशोभा रविप्रभावास्ततमःप्रभावा ।  
समग्रदेवीनिवहाग्रदेवी बभूव मायापगतेव माया ॥ \*  
प्रजासु मातेव हितप्रवृत्ता गुरौ जने भक्तिरिवानुवृत्ता ।  
लक्ष्मीरिवाधीशकुले कृताभा जगत्प्रभूदुत्तमदेवताभा ॥

With reference to the artificial form, the last (quoted) stanza stands on the same level with such (similar ones) of the Rāmāyana, the first two, on the other hand, are more artificial than any verses of Vālmīki

If one reviews all, which I have put forward, about the beginnings of a more and more refining practice of art, then one must admit that the poesy of Rāmāyana had already deviated far from the naive (simple) popular epic-poetry and that we can perceive in it the breaking dawn of so dazzling splendour of the rising court-poetry, that we shall be permitted to give claim to the tradition in this sense that the Rāmāyana is the Ādikāvya

[Translated by Prof R. D. Vadekar, A, from H. Jacobi,  
Das Rāmāyana, pp 119-126]

### 3. Prof. Lassen on the four stages of the development of the Rāmāyana

According to Professor Lassen the development of the story of Rāma may be divided into **four stages**. The **first** construction of the poem [i. e., the Rāmāyana] did not carry the narrative beyond the banishment of Rāma to the Himālaya and the circumstances which caused his wife Sītā and his brother Lakṣmana to follow him into exile. The **second** changed the place of banishment to the Godāvarī, and described the protection afforded to the hermits against the attacks of the aborigines. The **third** embraced the account of the first attempts to subdue the inhabitants of the Deccan. The **fourth** amplification, which resulted from



the knowledge gained by the Hindus of the island of Ceylon, included the description of Rāma's expedition against Lankā See Ind. Alt. II p. 505

—Indian Wisdom, p.339.

#### 4. Inter-relation of the two epics.

(a) *Extent* The present Mbh is seven times as large as the Iliad and Odyssey put together while the Rāmāyana is only a quarter as long as the Mbh. The present Mbh is an amplification. Originally composed of 8800 S'lokas according to Macdonell, or 8800 kūṭa s'lokas (riddles) besides others according to C V. Vaidya, it was taught by Vyāsa to his pupil Vais'am-pāyana who recited it to Janamejaya at *Sarpa-satra* in an amplified form (24000 s'lokas), which was later on enormously enhanced (1 lac s'lokas) by Sauti in his recitation before S'aunaka at the twelve years' sacrifice. These three distinct amplifications of the Mbh. are evidenced by a stanza of the Mbh. itself which states that the work is said to have three beginnings.

मन्वादि भारत केचिदस्तिकादि तथाऽपरे ।

तथोऽपरिचराद्यन्ये विप्राः सम्यगधीयते ॥

Rāmāyana, on the other hand, contains no clear evidence of such amplifications.

(b) *Authorship* Rāmāyana is the work of one author—Valmiki—a poet who was familiar with the older epic style and was the first writer of artistic poetry called Kāvya as distinguished from Ākhyāna. The present Mbh., on the other hand, is an outcome of several authors. It is attributed to Vyāsa who, accord-

ing to Hopkins, was an editor rather than an author. The Rāmāyana is more symmetrical, more homogeneous and lastly it is more refined, both in its polished metre and social atmosphere.

(c) *The Text* Neither epic has a definitive text. There are different recensions of both the epics which vary a good deal from one another. It is not possible to arrive at any definite text by their comparative study. The Southern recension of the Mbh. is in no way superior to, but is rather inferior to the Northern recension. In fact there is no fixed epic text because Hindu epic poetry was never fixed. All epic poems were transmitted at first orally and various re-writers treated them exactly as the rhapsodes had previously done, altered and added as they pleased. Reconstruction of the original text is therefore out of question. All that can be done is to excise the most palpable interpolations in each traditional writing.

(d) *Growth of the epics* As regards the final growth of each, it may be said that neither epic was developed quite independently of the other. The later Rāmāyana implies the Mbh. as does the later Mbh. recognise the Rāmāyana of Vālmīki.

(e) *The mutual relation.* Neither epic as such is recognised before the late period of the Grhya-sūtras and the first epic recognised here and in other Sūtras is the Bhārata. The comparative study of the two epics shows that there are various quotations from the Rāmāyana in the Mbh. Besides the Rāmopākhyāna and other incidental references in the Harivamsa, there are clear references to the priority of Vālmīki's work e.g. अपि चायं पुरा गीतं श्लोको वाल्मिकिना भुवि। These allusions, according to Hopkins, prove nothing in regard to the general priority of Vālmīki as the first

epic poet. They prove only that the Mbh. was not completed before Vālmīki wrote, just as the mention of Vāyu-purāṇa in the Mbh shows only that there was a purāṇa of that name not before the beginning of the Mbh, but before its end. It is noteworthy in this connection that the later Rāmāyana betrays acquaintance with the Mbh. The whole of the Rāmāyana in its present shape, therefore, was not complete before the beginning of the Mbh. The Rāmāyana recognises Janamejaya as an ancient hero, and knows Kurū and Pañcālas as well as the town of Hastināpura. From this it is concluded (1) that the story of Rāma is older than the story of the Pandavas, (2) the Pāṇdu-story is older than Vālmīki's Rāmāyana, and (3) Vālmīki's Rāmāyana as a whole is older than the Mbh. as a whole.

(f) *The locality of composition* A critical study of the parallel passages and proverbs shows that the Uttara-kāṇḍa has many tales of the Gangetic plane and that the early Mbh shows familiarity with the customs of the Punjab, and the later didactic portions are generally laid in Kosala and Videha. In other words, the two epics in their later development belong to the same locality.

(g) *The mutual resemblances.* (i) *Style* As mentioned before, the Rāmāyana is on the whole more refined (in polished metre and social atmosphere), more symmetrical and more homogeneous. Yet there is a closer resemblance of the style of the two epics. Hopkins has collected over 300 parallel passages which are almost identical—the same phraseology, the same proverbs. In describing peaceful scenes, for example, *नेत्रकटां कर्तुमर्हसि* is very common in both the epics. (ii)

There are *identical similes* (cf सेना भिन्ना नौरिव सागरे, सेना भिन्ना नौरिवागाधे) and even *identical descriptions* of the battles (iii) More remarkable still is the *correspondence in the story*. The heroines Sitā and Draupadī—if heroines they be called—are both born by miraculous power. The marriage of both takes place by Svayamvara (self-choice), but there is no choice by the heroine in either case, and the physical test is supreme in both. In both epics, the banishment of the heroes takes place, and in both, the heroines (Sitā and Draupadī) are carried away by Rāvāṇa and Jayadratha respectively. Thus we notice the influence of one story in the weaving of the other.

(iv) *Mythology*. There is also a close resemblance between the mythology (and we may add, even the philosophy) of the two epics. The Nature-worship of the Rgvedic times is now obscured, gods like Varuna, As'vins, and Ādityas are no more known, goddesses like Usas no more recognised. Their place is now taken by the trinity—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—and Ganes'a, Kubera and Durgā. Anthropomorphism becomes supreme. Gods like Indra become family-men, have wives, live in heaven, possess beautiful palaces and in their dealings behave like men. Shrines and temples of gods are erected, images of metal, clay and salt are worshipped, and this development of mythology takes place equally in two epics."

—From H. R. Aggarwala's *A Short History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp 39-41.

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## 5. Significance of the word 'Sundara' in Sundara-kāṇḍa.

"Now a question arises as to why the Sundara-kāṇḍa is called 'Sundara' which ordinarily means 'beautiful', although there is nothing charming to the mind in Hanuman's quest of Sītā which is full of '*Karuna Rasa*'. The troubles and tribulations of Hanuman, the pitiable condition of Sītā and its communication by Hanuman to Rāma are so pathetic that one would be inclined to call the title 'Sundara-kāṇḍa' to be a pure misnomer. But when we look to the method followed by the poet in fixing the titles of the several kāṇḍas, we find that the poet did so, having regard to the prominence of the subject-matter dealt with or the place concerned. Thus in the Bāla-kāṇḍa, the poet has dealt with the events of the young age of Rāma, in the Ayodhyā-, the Aranya-, and the Kīṣkindhā-kāṇḍas what took place at these places, and in the Yuddha-kāṇḍa<sup>1</sup>, the events that happened in the course of the greater war. Having regard to these considerations, I am inclined to the opinion that the poet meant to frame the title *Sunda-kāṇḍa*, because those events took place in the Sunda Islands. ['The Sunda Islands include Sumatra, Java (known as the Greater Sundas); and numerous small adjacent islands, (known as the Lesser Sundas)'—p 151], but that through ignorance or carelessness the word 'Sunda' was subsequently changed to 'Sundara' by later writers. Or it is possible [that] the name of the original powerful monarch of those islands, viz. Sunda was Sanskritised into Sundara; but if that was so, one fails to understand why in the

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1. In some recensions, even the Yuddha-kāṇḍa is called the Lankā-kāṇḍa. — N.A.G

legends centering round that monarch as given in the Rāmāyaṇa his name has been retained as Sunda. Even there it should have been changed to Sundara. Be that as it may, there is hardly any doubt that in the Sundara-kāṇḍa the poet has had his attention focussed round the Sunda islands, which [who ?] takes us by that way to Australia which was the Lankā of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.

Pp 187-188.

**The Mainaka Mountain**— "... the name of the mountain island Maināka appears to be a combination of the Andaman-Nicobar dropping *Anda* from the first and *Bar* from the second. Even the word Malacca in Malacca strait appears to be the nearest corruption of Maināka "

P 149

### The Air-route of Hanuman to Lankā

The way by which Hanuman travelled from India to Lankā in search of Sītā, starting in the morning and reaching there before sun-set, was the following Air-route :—

He started from *Mahendragiri* which is between Jagannath Puri to the North and Vizagapattam to the South, in the Ganjan district, probably in a big fighter monoplane, full of arms and ammunition including incendiary bombs, flew over the Bay of Bengal, reached the summit of *Maināka* (Andaman-Nicobar islands); crossed dauntlessly through the burning volcanoes of Sumatra and Java (*Surasā* Nāga-mātā, see p 215 f.) as far as the Surbaya port, then flew over the islands of Bali, Sumba, Sumbava, Timor and surrounding islands where presumably in those old times lived the

advanced races of Yaksas, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Cāranas and Nāgas etc., and crossing the Anavarya (Arafura) Sea, encountered opposition from the wild and ferocious people of New Guinea (*Simhikā* or *Angā'alā*), the lizard shaped island and overcoming it flew over the *Lambagiri* mountain (the Great Dividing Range and the mountain-ranges to its North and South including the Australian Alps in the South) in Australia, and beholding the beauty of that part of the country with its charming "Great Barrier or Coral Reef" and the beautiful sea-shore which was full of rows of forests and mouths of big rivers, descended on the extreme south peak of the *Lambagiri*, somewhere near the present Australian Alps (लम्बस्य गिरे समृद्धे विचित्र-कूटे निपपात कूटे ।).

Judging the past by the present standard of skilfulness, it seems that Hanuman must have travelled in a mono-aeroplane of great size and speed and that as Hanuman is said to have set the whole of Lankā on fire, this feat must have been accomplished by him single-handed with the help of incendiary bombs which he must have carried in his aeroplane

—From C.N. Metha's *The Flight of Hanuman*.  
pp.329-330. See no. 147 above.

## 6 The style of the Rāmāyaṇa

"Notwithstanding the wilderness of exaggeration and hyperbole through which the reader of the Indian Epics has occasionally to wander, there are in the whole range of the world's literature few more charming poems than the Rāmāyaṇa. The classical purity, clearness,

and simplicity of its style, the exquisite touches of true poetic feeling with which it abounds, its graphic description of heroic incidents and Nature's grandest scenes, the deep acquaintance it displays with the conflicting workings and most refined emotions of the human heart, all entitle it to rank among the most beautiful compositions that have appeared at any period or in any country. It is like a spacious and delightful garden, here and there allowed to run wild, but teeming with fruits and flowers, watered by perennial streams, and even its most tangled thickets intersected with delightful pathways "

—From *Indian Wisdom*, by Monier Williams, p 363.  
See no 150 above.

## 7. The Epic Sanskrit.

"The language of the Rāmāyana and of the Mbh., which is essentially the same, is styled *Epic Sanskrit*. Bothlingk affirms that this contains no true archaisms, with exception of augmentless tenses, but only new analogical formations, Jacobi does not qualify Bothlingk's statement I take exception to this and submit the following true Vedic archaisms which are found both in Mbh and R., (1) double संधि, which is very frequent in the Kashmere recension of the अथर्ववेद, and in the कौशिकसूत्र, (2) nom. pl. neuter of the अ-declension in -आ which is found a few times in Mbh and once (or possibly twice) in R, (3) Imperative in -तात्, found once in Mbh. and R., (4) मा with augmented tense, (5) sporadic absence of reduplication in the Perfect, (6)



Perfect middle participle found once in R and in Mbh. Moreover, Mbh. and R. have a number of verb-forms that are found in Vedic, but not in Classical Sanskrit."

—From T. Michelson See no. 271 above.

## 8. Archaisms in the Rāmāyana

[Grierson's Review of O. Bothlingk's paper in ZDMG XLIII (See no 206 above)].

"Prof. Böthlingk gives us a solid contribution on the Textual Criticism of the Rāmāyana. The article consists of a list of the epic grammatical peculiarities in the first four Books of the Bombay Edition. This edition contains a considerably greater number of ancient forms than the Bengali recension which has been previously dealt with similarly by Gorresio. At the same time it must not be concluded that all such forms were necessarily really ancient ones. All that is meant is that these forms disappeared in later times and many are actually new ones made under the influence of analogy and due to the necessities of metre. The one really certain ancient form found in these Books is the augmentless Imperfect which occurs about 11 or 12 times in the 4 Books. The 7th Book, the Uttara-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana is admitted to be later addition to the original epic. Dr. Böthlingk has accordingly, submitted it to the same process as the first four books in order to see if its later date is vouched for by its language. The statistics of epic forms show that no such conclusion is deducible. This Book abounds in the same irregularities. There are, for example, about 30 instances of augmentless forms.

—G. A. Grierson, IA. (1891) 20.

## 9 Age of the Rāmāyana

“If we briefly summarise the results of our investigations into the age of the Rāmāyana, we can say the following—

(1) The later parts of the Rāmāyana, especially Bks. I and VII, are separated from the genuine Rāmāyana of Bks. II-VI by a long interval of time.

(2) The whole Rāmāyana, including the later portions, was already an old famous work when the Mahābhārata had not yet attained its present form.

(3) *It is probable that the Rāmāyana had its present extent and contents as early as towards the close of the second century A.D.*

(4) The older nucleus of the Mahābhārata, however, is probably older than the ancient Rāmāyana

(5) In the *Veda* we find no trace of the Rāma epic and only very faint traces of the Rāma legend.

(6) The ancient *Buddhist texts* of the Tripiṭaka betray no knowledge of the Rāmāyana, but contain traces of ballads in which the Rāma legend was sung.

(7) There are no obvious traces of *Buddhism* to be seen in the Rāmāyana, but the characterisation of Rāma may possibly be traced to remote Buddhist influence.

(8) There can be no question of *Greek influence* in the Rāmāyana, and the genuine Rāmāyana betrays no acquaintance with the Greeks.

(9) *It is probable that the original Rāmāyana was composed in the third century B.C. by Vālmīki on the basis of ancient ballads.*”

From Indian Literature I. pp.516-7 by M. Winternitz.

See no. 187 above.

## 10 A. Weber on the Rāmāyana

“Let us briefly sum up the results of our investigation.

(1) The earliest indigenous testimonies to the existence of a *Rāmāyana* date from about the *third* or *fourth* century A. D.

(2) Considering the present extent of the work (about 24000 ślokaś), and the diversity found in the numerous recensions, it is impossible to pronounce a judgment, with anything approaching to certainty, regarding the *original* condition of the text. In the *existing* condition of the text, however, we find unmistakable indications that the influence of Greece upon India was already firmly established.

(3) Seeing that the *earliest* form of the story told in the *Rāmāyana*, as we find it, viz., in the Buddhist legend, knows nothing of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvana, or of the siege of Lankā, it is *possible* that, in the addition of these two elements by Vālmiki, we should recognise the influence of an acquaintance with the Homeric saga-cycle just as other stories belonging to the cycle have found their way into the Buddhist legend.

(4) It is uncertain whether the *Varṇava bias* which characterises the *Rāmāyana*, as we possess it and which has done so, according to the testimony of the literature on the subject, for a long time back, belong to the poem originally, but it is clear that the presence of this bias is due to the endeavour of the author to avail himself of national legends and the heroic figures of national tradition and to make use of these in the interest of the Brahmanical theology, as an antidote to Buddhism.

(5) It is certainly at least possible that Wheeler is right when he refers the conflict with Rākṣasas in Ceylon to anti-Buddhist tendencies.

(6) It is uncertain in how far the story of Rāma and Sītā, as contained in its earliest form in the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, may have a historical germ, or whether even that earliest version may not also have had at its groundwork, in addition to such a germ, what Valmiki has undoubtedly interwoven into his representation of the story, viz., the adoration of a demigod, bearing the name of Rāma, and regarded as the guardian of agriculture, but hindered in his beneficent activity by a temporary exile (possibly by Winter ?), and also of the field-furrow deified under the name of Sītā

(7) The extreme mildness, which is the prominent feature in Rāma's character, as represented by Vālmiki, is in this form the Buddhist legend. It is possible that in the course of time Christian elements may also have found their way into the representation (S'abari, S'ambūka etc.)

(8) Vālmiki appears to have belonged to a school of Yajurveda, the sages of which he has interwoven into his narrative (Janaka, As'vapati), and we may conclude that his birth-place was probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of Ayodhyā

—From *The Rāmāyana* by A. Weber, pp. 110-112.

See no. 183 above.

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## 11. Theories about the location of Lankā

“(1) Prof Jacobi in his monumental work on the ‘Rāmāyāna’ takes the hero to Assam which he calls Rākṣasa-sthāna (the abode of demons). (2) The Indian astronomer Bhāskara (14th century) locates Ravana’s Lankā, on the equator on the ocean. (3) Some identify it with an island near Sumatra, or Java. (4) A few would locate it in the Arabian Sea on the west coast. (5) Recently, however, some people have begun to place it in the Chhattisgarh District of the Central Provinces. (6) But the most popular theory current in India for the last 2000 years is that Lankā is none other than Ceylon. The believers in this theory differ as to the route by which Rāma went to that island, one holding that he went through the middle of the Peninsula and another asserting that he followed the East Coast.”

Kibe M. V.—Ravana’s Lanka located in Central India  
IHQ. IV (1928). 694-702.

## 12. A New version of the Rāma-legend

In the Alankāravatī-Lambaka section of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, there is a sketch of Rāma’s career narrated by Kañcanaprabhā, a demi-goddess of the Vidyadhar class, Kathā S S. IX. 1.58-115. Having reproduced it in this paper, the author says that “it is clear that the re-union of Rāma and Sītā, or to put it otherwise, the legend of Rāma without a tragic end, was narrated at least in one of the two recensions of the Bṛhatkathā which was composed a few centuries

before Bhavabhūti, (in the 3rd or 4th c. A.D.). And Bhavabhūti borrowed it from Guṇāḍhya. As for Bhavabhūti's familiarity with Guṇāḍhya's work, it is clear from the fact, pointed out by Prof. Levi, that the plot of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* was borrowed from the 'original of the tale of *Madirāvatī* in the *Kathā-sarīt-sāgara*."

—Mojumdar, S. N. See no. 274 above.

### 13. Vālmiki and Kālidāsa

"In no other poet are we able to trace the influence of Vālmiki so much as in the greatest poet (i.e. Kālidāsa). The very names of Kālidāsa's poems—*Raghuvamśa* and *Kumārasambhava* are taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bāla III 9 and 37,31. The *Meghasandేశa* was not only inspired by the *Hanumat-sandేశa* in the epic, but actually compares also the cloud to Hanumān. *S'akuntalā*, repudiated by the king and seeking mother, Earth to be taken into her bosom, and living in sage Mārīca's *Āśrama* first as a pregnant woman and then as a mother, is an image cast in the mould of *Sītā* sent to the forest in pregnancy and living in Vālmiki's hermitage with her two children. Love-mad *Purūṣavas* in Act IV of the *Vikramorvaśīya* is Rāma of the closing cantos of the *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the first canto of the *Raghuvamśa* I.4, Kālidāsa refers to his path having been blazed by *Pūrvasūris*, i.e. by Vālmiki. In *Raghu* XV. 33 Kālidāsa describes the *Rāmāyaṇa* as "*Kavi-prathama-paddhati*" and in XV 41 calls Vālmiki "*Adhya-Kavi*". In *Raghu* XIV. 70 Kālidāsa simply calls

Vālmiki “*Kavi*”, poet par excellence. It is in the Ādi-kavi’s Kavya that Kālidāsa soaked himself and again and again it is with the thoughts and words of Vālmiki that Kālidās enriches his fancy and expression.”— p. 412.

—Dr V. Raghavan : Vālmiki and Kālidāsa. See no 292 above

## 14 The Ramayana as an Epic Poem

Divested of its accretions and exuberances, the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki, is undoubtedly one of the most fascinating and at the same time most elevating poems that have ever been written in any language. It is in passion and imagination that the Rāmāyana towers over all other Sanskrit poems. If the Mahābhārata teaches you the lessons of life the Rāmāyana preaches the highest ideals of it. .. It is a mixture of heroic and lyric poetry. The actors in Vyāsa’s epic, elevated as they are, strike us as real beings, the actors in the Rāmāyana are ethereal. We have in the Rāmāyana the most affectionate father, the most cruel step-mother, the most dutiful son, the most loving husband, the most devoted wife, the most faithful friend and the most uncompromising enemy. Vālmiki is almost unsurpassed in the development of the pathos and description of the natural scenery. Vālmiki alone describes Nature with the vivacity and minuteness characteristic of English poetry. *Svabhāvokti* is a figure of speech which Vālmiki alone uses with perfection. He is also equally powerful in conceiving and describing sublime scenes.

The Sundara-kāṇḍa is indeed the beautiful Kāṇḍa even from the poet's point of view. It opens with Māruti's jump across the sea which separates the Indian Peninsula from Ceylon. We must go to the original to realise what a sublime scene the poet has evolved out of this incident, how Māruti expands his form, how he assumes the jumping attitude, how he strikes the ground and jumps up surrounded by uprooted trees flying up, how he flies through the clouds—disappearing ever and anon, how his shadow runs three yojanas in length on the surface of the sea below, terrifying the animals in that portion and making it disturbed. Further on the palaces and the inner apartments of Rāvaṇa are described with the sublimity of conception which characterises Vālmiki alone. Rāvaṇa is the lord of gods and demons, the master of heaven and hell and it is only the unbounded imagination of a great poet which can adequately describe Rāvaṇa's wealth and splendour. But the poet rises in sublimity still further when we are introduced to Ravana's As'oka garden and the dejected and now almost hopeless queen of Rāma (p 61)

Vālmiki is fond of piling similes one upon another till at last the reader's mind is crushed under the load of similes. In many of these similes the object of comparison is often an abstract noun and the similitude is often striking even in such a case; as when the poet says that Sītā looked like judgment clouded or hope disappointed. The description of Sītā in her forelorn and unadorned condition which the poet gives here is splendid. (p.61)

The language of Vālmiki is simple and easy. It is just such as is suited for a lyric poem, being impassion-



ed and full of alliterative sound. It is however not sufficiently dignified and sonorous, nor as correct as the language of the Mbh. But the sublime thoughts and emotions which it clothes make you forget the inaccuracies that constantly occur. (pp 61 f.),

—From C. V. Vaidya's Riddle of the Rāmāyana.

## Appendix III

### Points for the study of the Rāmāyana

- §1. One of the two national epics of India.
  - §2 The Title.
  - §3 The Author.
  - §4 The Original Rāmāyana.
  - §5. The Present Rāmāyana
    - (a) The Extent, (b) Date, (c) Recensions, (d) Interpolations, (e) The motive (or motives) of enlarging the Rāmāyana, (f) Summary of the Contents.
  - §6 The two parts of the story
  - §7. The Language, Metres and Style
  - §8. The Allegory, Mythology, Rivalry to Buddhism or Imitation of Homer
  - §9 The Inter-relation of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata.
  - §10. The Society depicted in the Rāmāyana.
  - §11. The Rāmāyana in the Buddhistic and the Jain Literatures.
  - §12. The Rāmāyana in Greater India.
  - §13. The Geography of the Rāmāyana.
  - §14. The Popularity of the Rāmāyana
  - §15. Adaptations and the Rāmāyanas in other books  
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